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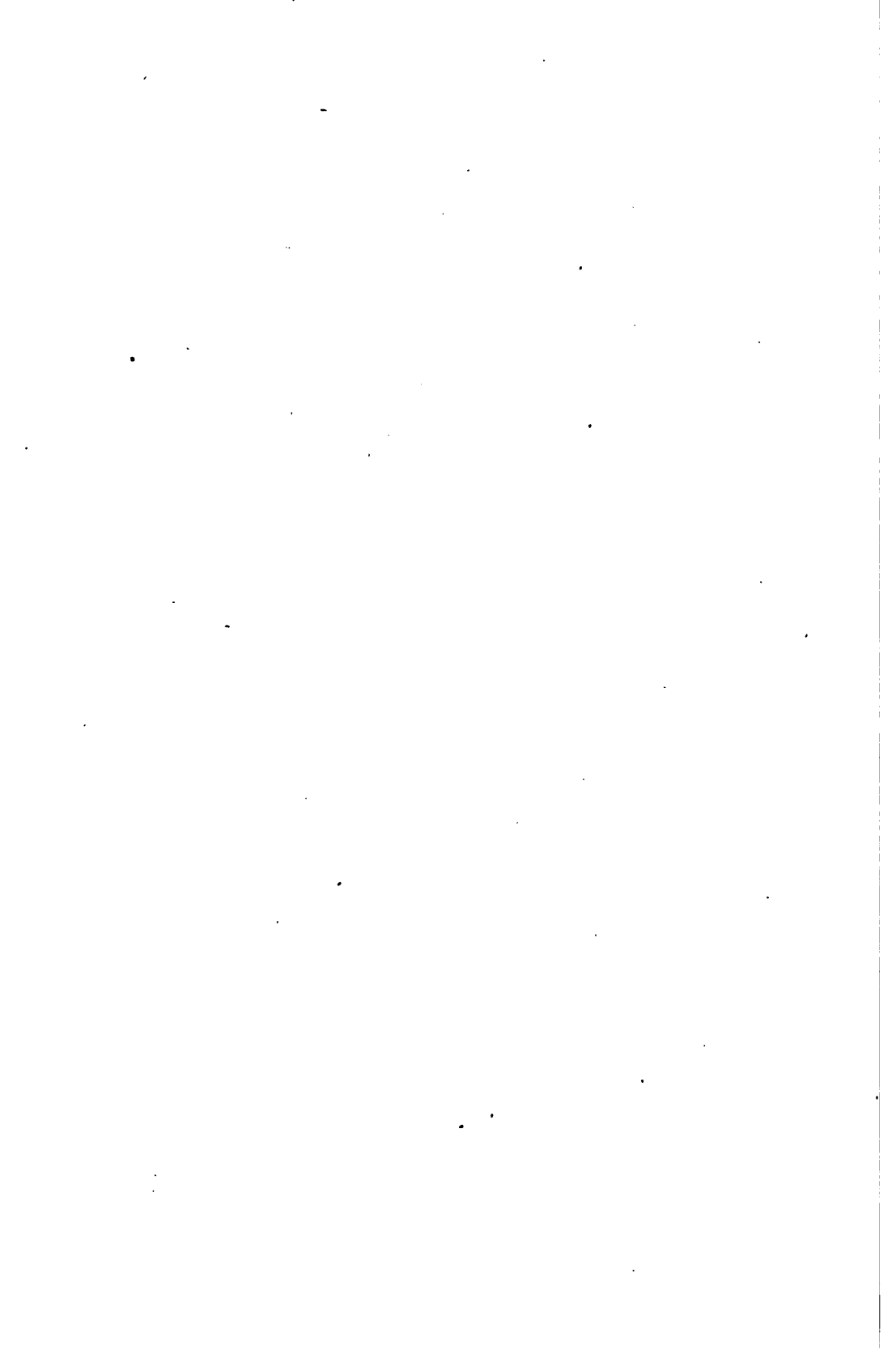
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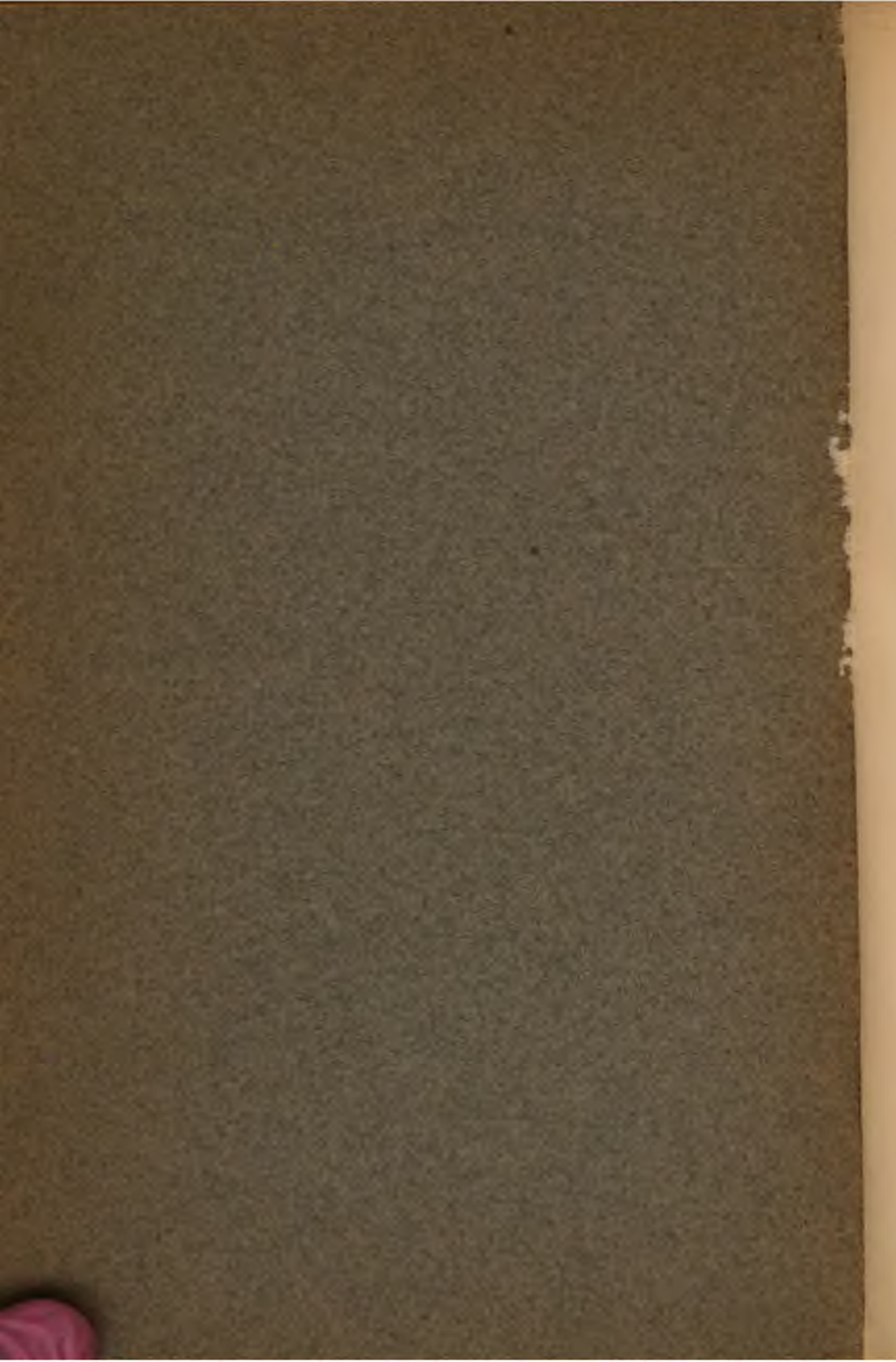
DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS
UNIVERSITY IN CONFORMITY WITH THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY
WILLIAM AVERILL STOWELL



BALTIMORE
J. H. FURST COMPANY

1908



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TO

MABEL GARDNER STOWELL

BY WHOSE AID AND LOVING ENCOURAGEMENT THE WRITING
OF THIS DISSERTATION HAS BEEN
MADE POSSIBLE.

1906

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INTRODUCTION.

A study of "Old-French Titles of Respect in Direct Address" has been chosen as the subject for this dissertation at the suggestion of Dr. Edward C. Armstrong of the Johns Hopkins University. With the exception of the monograph of Piotter (*Kritische Untersuchung der Anrede im altfranzösischen Rolandsliede*), an example of careful but futile cataloging, the subject has not been previously treated.

It is the aim of this study to treat the language spoken in North France (*langue d'oïl*) between the years eight hundred and forty-two and thirteen hundred and fifty (842-1350 A. D.). For the sections into which this period and this territory have been divided, see Chapter on *amis*, pp. 17 ff.

By Titles of Respect are meant such distinguishing, honorific appellatives, *nomina propria* excepted, as can be applied to a person or persons in direct address. The following classes have, however, been omitted from the present study.

1. *Titles of Office.* Such titles are the attributes of some office or dignity possessed by the individual addressed. They may be subdivided into Titles of Sovereignty (*roi, duc*) and Titles of Office proper, the latter being subdivided according to whether the office is Civil (*châtelain*), Judicial (*judge*), Ecclesiastical (*évêque*), or Military (*capitaine*). An examination of these titles would resolve itself into a study of the offices for which they stand, a task lying more properly within the domain of History. However, those words have been treated which, though they were not Titles of Office during the Early Period of Old French, became such in the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (an example is *baron*; see *infra*, Chapter IV).

2. *Titles of Class or Occupation.* Such titles are bestowed upon individuals because they are members of a certain class in society or because they follow a certain trade, occupation

or profession (*paysans, bourgeois, frere* as a term for monks, *avocat, docteur*, etc.). As in the case of Titles of Office, a study of these titles would resolve itself into a study of the classes of society for which they stand, a task not properly lying within the domain of Linguistics. However, those titles will be included which, though they were not Titles of Class or Occupation during the Early Period of Old French, became such in the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (an example is *chevaliers* which originally designated 'an armed horseman' and shifted to be a designation for the warrior class, the nobility; see *infra*, Chapter VI.

3. *Titles of Nationality.* (Examples are *Anglais, Français*).

4. *Titles for God and the Virgin Mary.*

5. *Titles of Family Relationship.* However, when such words were employed as titles for persons who were not actually related to the speaker, they have been included in the present study. (Such words are *frere* and *sœur*).

6. *Sporadic Titles.* Titles which do not occur more than thrice in the four hundred thousand lines of Old-French texts read for this study have been omitted, being considered sporadic linguistic curiosities rather than words which were fixed titles in the speech of the society of the Middle Ages.

All other titles of respect in direct address have been included in the present study.

The method employed in the treatment of these titles will generally be that used for *amis* (see Chapter I, p. 17). Frequently, however, the individual peculiarities of various titles will require a different method. In such cases, the form of treatment will be described in connection with the study of the titles in question.

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CHAPTER I.

AMIS AND COMPOUNDS.

SECTION I.

THE NATURE OF AMISTIÉ, COMPAGNONAGE, AND FRATERNITÉ.

Since *amis* was the symbol employed in direct address to express *amistié*, one of the principal institutions binding together the nobles of the Middle Ages, the initial step in a study of its use as a title in direct address is to examine the nature of that institution. Since *amistié* is closely connected in its character, origin, and development with the two other chief bonds of Medieval personal relations, *compagnonage* and *fraternité*, it has been judged advisable to discuss all three of these bonds in the present chapter, rather than to defer an examination into the nature of the two latter institutions to those chapters dealing with the use of *compainz* and *frère* as titles in direct address.¹

This discussion is made the more necessary both because personal relations among men played a much more important rôle in Medieval society than they do in modern times, and

¹ The determination of the true nature of *amistié*, *compagnonage*, and *fraternité* offers many difficulties. The two latter institutions have been discussed by Jacques Flach, *Les Origines de l'Ancienne France*, Vol. II, pp. 435 ff., Paris, 1893. While his discussion is, for the most part, excellent, he is confusing on many points and has mistaken *compagnonage* for *amistié*.

Amistié has never been studied by any writer previous to the author of this monograph. Part of the material used in this monograph has, after a personal verification, been taken from Flach and other writers on the subject (see General Bibliography). Much of it has been gathered independently. In a majority of cases where the material has been taken from earlier works on the subject, a direct reference has been given. Acknowledgment is, however, here made for many ideas that have been adopted from other writers, not only in the present chapter, but throughout the entire study.

because there exists some confusion of ideas as to the probable nature of these alliances. Their importance in Medieval society was natural. In a highly civilized community, the individual depends for the safeguard of his person and property, not upon his fellow citizens, but upon the state. The motives which underlie personal relations among men of modern times are, therefore, those which concern the pleasure and not the safety of the individual. In a primitive community, however, personal relations take on an entirely different character. In such a community, a superior protecting power does not exist, and the individual depends for the safeguard of his person and property upon his own prowess. Incapable singly of protecting himself, he at once allies himself with other individuals, for the purpose of reciprocal defence against the rest of the community. The motives which underlie their relations are those which concern, not the mere pleasure, but the life and property of the individuals in question. Because of the vital importance of this personal dependence of man upon man, there often arose a code of fixed rules and regulations to govern such relations, which gradually assumed the character of formal laws or institutions. Therefore, while friendship in modern times is an informal bond existing between two individuals and broken at the pleasure of either contracting party, *amistié* in the Middle Ages was a formal pact that united individuals by bonds of the most exacting and inviolable nature.

Since, in the Middle Ages, personal relations became fixed and formal institutions, their study is of greater importance than would be an examination into similar modern alliances. In such a study, it is first of all necessary to define the general kinds of relations into which an individual of the early Middle Ages might enter with his fellow men. In the first place, he might ally himself with some other individual against encroachment upon their common interests. However, since two men were not sufficiently powerful to resist attack, many men, generally united by kinship, could band themselves together into a group or unit. This unit might be small, as in the case

of the Roman *gens*, the German clan, or the French *seigneurie*: it might be composed of many *gens* or clans or *seigneuries* and be a state, as in the case of the temporary empire that was founded by the Carolingians. In either case, there existed a leader of the unit to whom the individual stood in a different relation from that he bore to the other individuals composing the unit. Therefore, in the early Middle Ages, there were two general kinds of relations:

- (A). The relations between the chief (seigneur) and the warrior (follower);
- (B). The relations between warrior and warrior.

(A). Nature of the Relations between Seigneur and Follower in Medieval France.

1. NATURE OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN CHIEF AND WARRIOR IN GERMAN CLAN.

The relations between seigneur and follower in Medieval France were derived from the relations that, during the first centuries of the Christian era, existed between chief and warrior among the Teutonic tribes. As in all primitive communities, the chief of the German clan was looked upon by the clansmen as their fictitious father, and they were subject to his despotic authority, to his *patria potestas*, in the same way that the members of a Roman *gens* were subject to the *patria potestas* of the head of the *gens*. In accordance with this fiction, an individual who was elected to membership in the clan was adopted by the chief as a son and, in return, swore to serve the chief as a son would serve a father.¹

¹ This adoption was usually consummated by the granting of arms by the chief to the person in question. By virtue of this adoption, that person became a full-fledged member of the family of which the chief was the father, that is, a member of the clan. The applicants for admission into the clan were usually the young sons of members of that clan who desired to take their places among the warriors of the nation. In this case, the granting of arms was equivalent to the granting of citizenship, both of which the youth received for the first time. The ceremony was

While there existed the conception of the fictitious paternity of the chief in regard to all his adherents, this feeling was especially strong in regard to the members of his personal following, his *comitatus*. This feeling was a natural one in view of the fact that he fed, clothed, and equipped these members of his household, and fulfilled those functions usually performed by a father. The *personnel* of this *comitatus* included the near relatives of the chief, a few of his intimate friends, and the young sons of clansmen who had been apprenticed by their fathers in order to acquire their warlike education in the service of their leader. Since the members of the *comitatus* were in closer touch with the leader than were the other members of the clan, there were two kinds of relations between the German chief and his warriors:

1. A less close relation which existed between the chief and those warriors of the clan who did not compose his personal following (corresponding to the French *seigneurage*).

2. A more close relation which existed between the chief and those warriors of the clan who did compose his personal following, his *comitatus* (corresponding to the French *maisonnée*).¹

II. CAUSES OF THE ADOPTION IN FRANCE OF THE GERMAN PERSONAL RELATIONS BETWEEN CHIEF AND WARRIOR.

The relations that existed between the German chief and warrior were introduced into France by the horde of Teutonic

usually performed as soon as the youth arrived at his majority, and, by virtue of its performance, he passed from under the *patria potestas* of his own father and entered under the authority of the chief as father of the clan. In the case of those men, who, as members of other clans, had already been granted arms but who desired to enter the service of another chief, the ceremony of the granting of arms was replaced by an oath by which the applicant swore to serve the chief as a son would serve a father. See Flach, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 435 ff.; Du Cange, *Glossarium*, Vol. VIII, *Twenty-first Dissertation on Joinville*; and Fustel de Coulanges, *Les Origines du Système féodal*, pp. 12 ff.

¹ See Tacitus (*Germania*, C. 13-14), for description of this *comitatus*.

invaders that swept over Europe in the early Middle Ages. When a less civilized race conquers a more civilized one and their customs clash and fuse, it is usually the usages of the more civilized that prevail. Therefore, it seems remarkable that the customs regarding the personal relations between chief and warrior should have taken root and thriven on Gallic soil, when the majority of German observances died in the transplanting. The reasons why they flourished seem to have been that (a) the conditions existing in France at the time of their introduction were favorable to personal institutions of all kinds, and (b) there already existed relations between the Gallic *patron* and *client* similar to those existing between the German chief and warrior.

(a). **The Conditions Existing in France were Favorable to Personal Institutions of all Kinds.**

From the time of the disintegration of the Roman Empire to the twelfth century, the central government in France was extremely weak,¹ and was utterly unable to maintain law and order within its domains. Consequently, a flame of anarchy swept over France, evidences of which can be seen reflected in the *Chansons de Geste*. In any society in which the authority of the central government is weak, the personal relationship of man to man and not the ownership of land, the personal bond and not the realty bond, is the basis of the social structure.² This can be readily seen when it is considered that in such a community there was no superior protecting power to enforce contracts, and a powerful seigneur who had granted land to a follower could deprive him of that land whenever he desired to do so. The important element in the transaction, therefore, was not the land itself, but the value of the seigneur's word,

¹ With the exception of brilliant periods of royal power under a few of the Carolingians and Merovingians, notably Charlemagne.

² Flach has been the first writer to call attention to the fact that the foundation of Medieval society was not land, but the personal relationship of one man to another. *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 427 ff. Also, see Fustel de Coulanges, *Les Origines du Système féodal*, pp. 205 ff.

the value of the seigneur's faith. A man bound himself to a powerful seigneur because of the need of protection. Since there was no higher power to force the seigneur to protect his follower, the important element in the contract was the value of the seigneur's word, the value of the seigneur's faith. A seigneur promised aid to a follower in order to obtain the reciprocal assistance which the follower could render him. Since there was no higher power to prevent the follower from deserting the seigneur to whom he had made the promise of aid and from joining the adherents of some other seigneur, the essential part of the contract was the value of the follower's word, the value of the follower's faith. The basis of all these contracts was, therefore, the personal faith of the contracting parties. An analogous condition existed in China some twenty years ago. A central government capable of assuring justice was non-existent, and contracts were non-enforcible; the only value of a contract or promise was the value of the word, the value of the faith, of the contracting parties; since the whole commercial structure of the nation rested upon the word or faith of the merchants, a tremendous premium was at once put upon this faith; to keep faith became the most cherished duty of a Chinese merchant, the keystone of his commercial life; to break faith was looked upon as the blackest of sins. The result is the integrity of Chinese merchants, proverbial throughout the Orient. So, under the conditions existing in Medieval France, the personal relations between man and man, based upon the faith of the contracting parties, were necessarily the foundations upon which was raised the social edifice of the times: the personal bond and not the realty bond was the corner stone of society.

- (b). There Already Existed Relations between the Gallic *Patron* and *Client* Similar to those between the German Chief and Warrior.

Besides the fact that, at the time of their introduction into France, conditions were favorable to personal institutions of all kinds, there already existed in Gaul relations between *patron* and *client* which were similar to those between chief

and warrior introduced from Germany. Even previously to the Frankish invasions, the Roman government in Gaul was unable to protect the lives or property of its citizens, and the country had been parcelled out among numerous powerful proprietors. Because these latter became a law unto themselves and proceeded to outrage everybody and everything within their reach,¹ the individual was driven to seek protection. Instead of following the example of the Germans in banding together and electing a leader, they grouped themselves round some one of the great proprietors and became his followers.² As in Germany, however, so in France, the fiction was invented that the *patron* was the fictitious father of the *clients*, and that these *clients*, as members of his family, were subject to the same despotic authority, the same *patria potestas*, as that of a son to his father. The analogy of this relationship to that existing between the German chief and the warrior is striking.

III. NATURE OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN SEIGNEUR AND FOLLOWER IN MEDIEVAL FRANCE.

Since the conditions in Gaul were slightly different from those in Germany, the institutions introduced from the latter country would naturally be somewhat modified, and would assume characteristics different from those possessed on their native soil. In their main features, however, the relations between the seigneur and his followers in France were analogous to the relations between the chief and his warriors in Germany.

First, there existed a less close relation between the seigneur and those of his supporters who were not members of his personal following. From these men, he received aid in the form of military service and money; to these men, he gave his pro-

¹ Because of the disintegration of the central government, the same conditions of anarchy arose that existed in a primitive community before the establishment of a superior ruling power.

² These proprietors did not exist in Germany or in any other primitive community; if they had existed, they would probably have been the rallying point of the grouping of the population.

tection and, at times, lands and property. They did not live with him, however, and became members of his personal following only when they accompanied him on some warlike expedition.

Second, there existed a more close relation between the seigneur and those of his supporters who were members of his personal following or household, his *maisniee*.¹ Because of the troubled state of the times and the need of warding off sudden attacks, this personal following was often very large.² The *maisniee* included the near relatives of the chief, a number of his intimate friends, and a large proportion of the young sons of his followers, who were apprenticed to him, as esquires or valets,³ to acquire their education at arms under the instruction of their overlord. Since the seigneur fed, clothed, and equipped these members of his *maisniee*⁴ and fulfilled those functions usually performed by a father, he was looked upon by them in the light of a fictitious father. In all of these relations, it is easy to recognize the German system, the fictitious parentage between the chief and the warrior.

IV. NAMING OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN SEIGNEUR AND FOLLOWER.

Such were the relations between a seigneur and his followers in Medieval France. It remains to consider the names that shall be applied to them. For the less close relation that existed between a seigneur and those followers who were not members of his *maisniee*, the commonly accepted nomenclature of *seigneurage* and *vassalage* is open to no objection. While

¹ For a description of these followers of a seigneur, see Flach, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 455 ff.

² This was due to the fact that the vassals who lived on their own lands were generally at too great a distance to be summoned in case of a sudden attack.

³ See chapter on *Valet*.

⁴ See Flach, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 455 ff., for a full description of the *maisniee* and of its composition.

this formal bond also united the seigneur with those retainers who composed his personal following, there existed between him and them another relation, less formal, but none the less stringent. To this relation, Flach¹ has given the name of *compagnonage*.

Compagnonage was not, however, a relationship between a seigneur and the members of his *maisniee*, for:

1. There are numerous examples in which it is explicitly shown that *compagnonage* was a relationship, not between the seigneur and the members of his *maisniee*, but between the members of the *maisniee* themselves.²

2. The word carries with it a notional and emotional value of equality which it is difficult to reconcile with the unequal positions of a seigneur and a vassal.³

¹ Flach concludes that *compagnonage* was a relationship which existed, not only among the vassals of a seigneur but also between the vassals and the seigneur himself. For example, in his essay on *compagnonage* (*op. cit.*, p. 143), he speaks of the sons of German chiefs who, upon coming of age, passed from under the *patria potestas* of their father as head of the family, and came under his authority as head of the state, and stood in the same relation to him as the other members of the clan. He adds: "Les historiens n'ont pas, en général, attribués à la remise des armes chez les Germains son vrai sens, sa pleine portée. Ils n'ont envisagé qu'une de ses faces, la cessation de l'étroite dépendance où l'enfant se trouvait au regard du père de famille, l'émancipation. L'autre face, la naissance de rapports nouveaux, de rapports de *compagnonage* entre le père et l'enfant, leur a presque échappé."

² a. *Compagnons* ou *convassaux*, *tenens fiefs* du dit seigneur. *Cont. de Chauny*, Vol. I, p. 659 (D. C.);

compainz is here the synonym of *covassal*; it is clear that the *compagnonage* does not exist between the seigneur and the follower, for a seigneur could not be the *covassal* of his own vassal.

b. "Or serés compaignon, vous et Joubert, Naires ert li tiers, de Saint Lambert!" ;

King Louis says this to the hero of the *Aiol* (v. 4512), proposing to him that he take two *compagnons*: if the *compagnonage* had included the King, he would never have said: "Do you be *compagnons*."

³ There is in the idea of "a person who shares the common bread with me" a notion of equality. That *compainz* carries with it a notional and emotional value of equality can be seen from the examples of the word quoted in this study.

3. There exist numerous examples in the Old-French texts where men enter into the relation of *compagnonage* with one another and where there are given full particulars concerning the social position of the contracting members. Yet in Flach's treatise and in the Old-French works consulted for this study, there does not occur a single example in which a seigneur enters into the relationship of *compagnonage* with a follower.

4. During the Middle Ages, *compainz* was the title by which a man addressed his fellow to whom he was bound by the bond of *compagnonage*. If *compagnonage* was a relation between a seigneur and his follower, there would certainly be, among the one hundred and eight examples of *compainz* collected for this study from Old-French texts, some example of its use by a seigneur as a title for a follower, or by a follower as a title for a seigneur. There is not a single example of such a use of the word.

Since it was not *compagnonage*, it remains to fix upon the name that should be given to the relation between a seigneur and his followers. Under the Roman Republic and Empire and the Frankish Kingdom, the powerful *clientes* or vassals of a great seigneur were designated as his *amici*, while the bond which united them to him was called *amicitia*.¹ In the works consulted for this study, the only term used to designate a personal relation between them is *amistié*.²

Furthermore, the followers of a seigneur are always referred

¹ Fustel de Coulanges, *Les Origines du Système Féodal*, pp. 205 ff., conclusively proves that, during the Roman and Frankish Empires, the powerful *clientes* or vassals of a great seigneur were designated as his *amici*, while the bond which united them to him was called *amicitia*. See *infra*, p. 11, note 3.

² Qui que etiam viri illustres, qui seu affinitate, seu *amicitia* sibi ad-juncti. *Miracles de Saint Benoît, livre VIII*, p. 346 (D. C.).

In the *Girart de Vienne*, p. 155 (*ed. Tarbé*), Roland is described as desiring to effect a reconciliation between Charles and Oliver. So he says to Oliver: Et se je puis, ains IIII jors passé, aurés au roi et pais et *amistié*.

to as his *amis*,¹ and are always addressed by him as *amis*.² Therefore, it is concluded that the tie between a seigneur and his vassals was that of *amistié*.³

¹ DuCange (*Glossarium*) says under *amicus*: Sic more regum nostrorum, domini superiores amicos appellabant feudales suos, and cites in confirmation of his statement such examples as the following:

Egiddeo regalium primus amicorum appellatus est. *Vita Ludovici Imp.* (ap. Pertz).

Bannum quoque de omnibus in toto curtirast commanentibus, tam de amicis quam de universis hominibus meis.

The following examples have been gathered from the texts consulted for this study:

"Fuir les en convint et le päis vuidier,
Par l'esfors des amis les fist il repairer." *Renaud de Montauban*, 13.

"Si seront a ma cort ses II enfans nourri,
Chevaliers les ferai, si seront mi ami." *Ibid.*, p. 383.

Vc. danziaus a a lui apelé

Qui tuit estoient si dru et si privé

Et si ami et de son paternté. *Girart de Rousillon*, p. 191.

En terre le fist metre, molt o fu grans li cris,

En jante sepoutre et devant ses amis. *Renaud de Montauban*, 9.

The distinction is also made between those members of the *maisniee* (those *amis*) who were related to the seigneur and those members who were not his relatives; the former are designated as his *charnels amis*, as in the following example:

Renaus fu en la tour o ses charnels amis;

Lors fist soner un graille qui par öir bondi,

Fit li baron s'adobent, qui furent estormi. *Renaud de Montauban*, p. 367.

² "Amis Rollans, deus metet t'amne en flors!" *Roland*, 2898 (Emperor Charles to Roland, a noble of his *maisniee*).

For other examples, see *Roland*, 2909, 2916, 2933; *Thebes*, 9471; *Erec*, 5792; *Ille et Galeron*, 314; *Aliscans*, 2361; *Fierebras*, 5421; *Elie de St. Gille*, 2778; *Renart*, XI, 545; *Ogier*, 33, 3055, 4531, 4765.

³ It is natural that such a name should be given to this relationship because the relation existing between a Roman seigneur and his vassals was also that of *amistié* (*amicitia*). As far back as Sallust, this word designated the *entourage* of a prince:

Fuerunt multi reges ex amicis Alexandri magni qui post obitum ejus imperia ceperunt. *Nepos*, 31, 1.

Per hoc gratissimus Claudius receptusque in cohortem amicorum, Suetonius, *Galba*, 7.

Comitante prætorianorum agmine et in essedis cohorte amicorum, Suetonius, *Caligula*, 19.

Neque adire cunctatus est quamquam deterrentibus amicis, neque dimettere, Suetonius, *Cæsar*, 70.

(B). Nature of the Relations among Followers of a
Seigneur in Medieval France.

I. NATURE OF THE RELATIONS AMONG WARRIORS IN A
GERMAN CLAN.

As in the case of the relations between a seigneur and his followers, the bonds which united French warriors were derived from those already existing in Germany or in the North of Europe. It has been said ¹ that the followers of a Teutonic chieftain were considered his children, and the tie between these followers was therefore that of fictitious fraternity. In Northern Europe, this fraternity, everywhere considered as informally existing, was formalized by the performance of certain symbolic rites and ceremonies. The following description of the ceremony is given in the *Gisla Saga*:²

"A long strip of grass or sod is cut, leaving the ends attached to the earth; it is then raised aloft on their spears; the men place themselves beneath this arch, which rite signifies their union in the womb of their common mother, mother earth; they mix their blood in the dirt thus exposed by the raised sod, which rite signifies that they mix their blood in their mother's womb and are thus twin brothers; then, on their knees, they swear to the Gods to avenge and to protect one another as brothers."³

Amistie as a designation for this relation is quite different from the usual conception of this tie. It will be shown (see chapter on *amis*) that it was to the advantage of a seigneur to conciliate and to flatter his followers by placing them, in appearance at least, on a level of equality with himself; that, with a view to doing this, he called them *amis*, a title which implied equality between the speaker and the hearer; that this equality was a fiction; that the relation consisted in the condescending good will of a superior toward an inferior as manifested by the seigneur, and in the respectful homage of an inferior to a superior as offered by the vassal. It is to this relation that the designation *amistie* has been given.

¹ See *supra*, p. 3.

² Papenheim, *Die Altdanischen Schutzgilden*, pp. 21 ff.

³ Other rites, by which were consummated fictitious adoptions as brothers, were the reciprocal drinking of the blood of the contracting parties, the

The duties of this fictitious fraternity were very strict. The brothers held everything in common and owed one another fidelity against all men, even against real brothers if the two relationships, the fictitious and the real, came into conflict.

II. NATURE OF THE RELATIONS AMONG FOLLOWERS OF A SEIGNEUR IN MEDIEVAL FRANCE AND NAMING OF THESE RELATIONS.

Introduced in the same way as the ties binding the seigneur and his followers,¹ the form of the relations uniting German warriors was somewhat modified by the conditions they met with on Gallic soil. Derived from their German prototypes, there arose two general kinds of relations among the followers of a seigneur: (a). Relations existing among those followers who were not members of the household, the *maisniee*, of the seigneur. (b). Relations existing among those warriors who were members of the household, the *maisniee*, of the seigneur.

(a). Relations Existing among those Followers who were not Members of the Household, the *Maisntee*, of the Seigneur.

It has been said ² that many of the followers of a seigneur lived on their own estates and, except in time of war, did not form a part of his *maisniee*. Since these men came in contact with one another only on the warlike enterprises of their overlord, the personal bond between them can be described as a temporary *camaraderie* that would naturally arise among fellow soldiers in a common cause.

exchange of arms, and the touching of arms. For further information on this subject, see DuCange, *Glossarium*, Vol. VIII, *Dissertation on Joinville*, No. XXVII, and Flach, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 439 ff.

¹ See *supra*, p. 4.

² See *supra*, p. 7.

- (b). Relations Existing among those Followers who were Members of the Household, the *Maisniee*, of the Seigneur.

Depending upon the stringency of the tie uniting them, the alliances among the followers of a seigneur may be divided into three categories: (1). *Compagnonage* of the lower degree; (2). *Compagnonage* of the higher degree; (3). *Fraternité*.

(1). *COMPAGNONAGE OF THE LOWER DEGREE.*

The followers belonging to the *maisniee* were considered as the fictitious sons of the seigneur and lived together on the same intimate terms as would live members of a family.¹ Since they were co-eaters of the seigneur's bread, they were called *compagnons*, and the tie between them was designated as *compagnonage*.² Since, in the broadest sense, a follower could have as *compagnons* all the members of the *maisniee*, and since the *maisniee* was frequently very large, a man could enter into *compagnonage* with many men.³ To this *compagnonage* existing among all the followers of a seigneur, the name *compagnonage* of the lower degree has been given. The duties and obligations of this bond were relatively lax, being those which honor and affection would naturally impose upon individuals associated under a common leader for the furtherance of their reciprocal interests.

(2). *COMPAGNONAGE OF THE HIGHER DEGREE.*

As was natural in a large family, each member of the *maisniee* generally found some other member whose tastes were so similar to his own that they became particular comrades. To cement and formalize this comradeship, they had recourse to

¹ See *supra*, p. 3.

² *Compagnon* is derived from the Latin *companionem* signifying 'he who eats the same bread with a person': the Old German word for warrior, *gimaso*, also originally signified 'he who is a co-eater of the common bread.'

³ Bien sont d'une maisnié jusque a M. compagnons, *Saisnes*, p. 181.

Car je sui tos armés, si ai mil compaignons, *Renaud de Montauban*, p. 104.

certain ceremonies which bound them, by the most exacting of pacts and regulations, to love one another more than any other living man, to share all property in common, to assure one another aid in times of trouble, and to be faithful and devoted to each other unto death.¹ To this close comradeship, which early assumed the character of a formal institution, the name *compagnonage* of the higher degree has been given.

(3). *FRATERNITÉ.*

In the early Middle Ages, there existed in France a direct importation of the German fraternity² between two warriors, which united the followers of a Medieval seigneur by bonds more stringent even than those of *compagnonage* of the higher

¹ A description of this ceremony is given in the *Girart de Vienne*, p. 155 (ed. Tarbé) :

Rollant parlat au corage aduré:
 "Sire Olivier, ja ne vos iert celé,
 Je vos plevis la moie loialté
 Que plus vos aim que home qui soit né,
 Fors Karlemain li fort roi coroné;
 Puisque Deus veut que soions acordé,
 Jamais n'arai ne chastel, ne cité,
 Ne bosc, ne ville, ne tor, ne fermeté,
 Que ne partiez, foi que je doi a Dé.
 Aude panrai, se il vos vient en gré;
 Et se je puis, ains IIII jors passé,
 Aures au roi et pais et amisté."

Olivier l'ot; si l'en mercié;
 Andeus ses mains en tent vers damne dé:
 "Glorious sire, vos soiés aoré
 Que vers cest home m'avés hui acordé."
 "Sire Rollant, ne vos soit pas celé,
 Je vos aim plus que home qui soit né."

Tot maintenant ont lor chief desarmé;
 Si s'entrebaissent par bon volenté,
 Puis sont assis sur la verde erbe en pré,
 Lors fois plevisissent en bone volenté,
 Et compaignie en trestot lor aé.

² See *supra*, p. 12.

degree. In the midst of the terrible *melée* of Ronceval, Roland, who had long been bound to Oliver by the ties of *compagnonage* of the higher degree, is struck with admiration at the splendid blows meted out by his friend, and says: *Or vus recief je frere!*¹ and from this time on, he addresses him as either *Oliviers frere*,² or *Oliviers compainz frere*,³ whereas he had previously called him *compainz*. The duties of this *fraternité* seem to have been those of *compagnonage* of the higher degree.

SECTION II.

AMIS.

A. As used by the Nobility.

1. THE "NORMAL" MEANING OF AMIS AS A TITLE FOR EQUALS.

(a). First Examples, and Establishment of the "Normal" Meaning.

The earliest examples of the use of *amis*⁴ in any value are found in the *Chanson de Roland*:

1. Dist l'uns a l'autre: "ça vus traiez, amis!"⁵ Here the speakers are Roland and Archbishop Turpin, nobles of equal rank, great friends, and fellow *compagnons*⁶ in the *maisniee*⁷ of the emperor.

¹ *Roland*, 1376.² *Roland*, 1395.³ *Roland*, 1456.⁴ Use of *amica* in Latin.

a. In the "normal" meaning, 'friend.'

It was employed in this meaning during all periods of Latin:

Tu ex amicis certis mi es certissimus. *Plaut. Trin.*, 1, 2, 54.

b. In the "transferred" meaning, 'ally.'

It was employed in this meaning during all periods of Latin:

Deiotarus ex animo amicus unus fidelis populo Romano. *Cic. Phil.*, 11. 13.

c. In the "transferred" meaning, 'courtier.'

It was employed in this meaning after the Augustan period:

Comitante prætorianorum agmine et in cessidis cohorte amicorum.

Suet., *O. Caligula*, 19.⁵ *Chanson de Roland*, 2131.⁶ See *supra*, p. 14.⁷ See *supra*, p. 8.

2. "En vos me fi, amis," ço li dist Guene.¹ Guenelon is addressing Pinabels, a noble of equal rank, his great friend, and his fellow *compagnon* in the *maisniee* of the emperor.

3. "Sire cumpaing, amis, nel dire ja."² Roland is addressing Oliver, a noble of equal rank, his intimate friend, and his *compagnon* in the emperor's *maisniee*.

Genuine friendship and equality between the speaker and the hearer were the most important concepts which went to make up the meaning of the word in this use. Therefore, from the speaker's standpoint, *amis* signified 'a man, my equal, whom friendship unites to me.' As this signification was the "normal" one in the Latin, I shall adopt it as the "normal" meaning of the word in the eleventh century.

Accepting, then, this "normal" meaning as the point of departure, it will be the purpose of this investigation:

1. To trace the subsequent history of the "normal" meaning.

2. To note the occurrence of any "transferred" meanings that are variants of the "normal" meaning.

3. To show when, where, and why these "transferred" meanings arose.

4. To trace the historical development of these "transferred" meanings, and to note if, at any future period, one, or any of them became the "normal" meaning of the word by supplanting the original "normal" meaning.

To facilitate the last process, it has been deemed advisable to show in what proportion *amis* was used by the nobility in its "normal" and in its separate "transferred" meanings,³ during each successive stage of its historical development.

The Old-French epoch (842-1350 A. D.) has, therefore, been

¹ *Chanson de Roland*, 3786.

² *Chanson de Roland*, 1113.

³ This treatment has been omitted in the case of *amis* used as a love-term, because it was a special use, neither influencing, nor was it influenced by, the main development of the word; to include examples of this use in the proportion scheme would, therefore, only complicate the study of the main development of the word.

divided. The period from 842-1100 A. D. has been treated as one division; the same is true of the period from 1250-1350 A. D. The period from 1100-1250 A. D. has been divided into three divisions of fifty years each.

The examples of *amis* used by the nobility have then been classified and those have been grouped together which are found in works from the same division or period; the proportion in each of these periods of those examples used in the "normal" and of those used in each of the "transferred" meanings has then been noted.

(b). Historical Development of the "Normal" Meaning of *Amis*.

Out of the total number of examples in the texts consulted for this study in which *amis* was used by the nobility as a title in direct address,¹ the following table shows the per cent. of cases in which the word was employed in the "normal" meaning:

Early Period: 57%,² all from the West;³

First half of the twelfth century: 43%,⁴ all from the Center;

Second half of the twelfth century: 13%,⁵ from all sections of the territory;

¹ Those examples in which the word was used as a love-term excepted.

² For examples, see *supra*, p. 16-17.

³ The territory covered by this study is North France (the *langue d'oïl*); it has been divided into four sections, West, East, North, and Center; the texts up to the second half of the twelfth century are from the West and Center only; after that period, they are from all sections of the territory. For a full discussion of this question, see Introduction.

⁴ "Amis, beau frere, toi beneie Dex!" *Prise d'Orange*, 155 (William of Orange to fellow noble, his friend).

⁵ "Vos aiderai, amis, pur veir." *Tristran de Thomas*, 2244 (Tristran to noble who asks his aid).—"Amis, menez en vostre drue." Marie de France, *Guigemar*, 836 (noble to noble, his friend).—"Ne plorer ja," fait il, "amis." *Thebes*, 6147 (noble to noble, his friend).—"Amis, je nel sai deviner." *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, 1756 (noble to noble, his friend).—"Amis, fai une cosse que te voil deviser." *Elie de St. Gille*, 2563 (noble to noble, his friend).—"Amis," dit il, "qui estes vos?" *Renart*, XIII, 2081 (noble to noble, a stranger, his equal in rank).

First half of the thirteenth century: 12%,¹ from the North and Center;

Second half of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries: one example only, from the North.²

(c). Conclusions as to the Use of *Amis* in the "Normal" Meaning.

In the Early Period, *amis* was used chiefly in its "normal" meaning of 'a man, my equal, whom friendship unites to me.'

Amis in its "normal" meaning was used in all sections of the territory.

Amis in its "normal" meaning became less and less frequent during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and fell into disuse in the first half of the fourteenth century.

2. THE "TRANSFERRED" MEANING OF *AMIS* AS A TITLE FOR INFERIORS.

(a). Origin, First Examples, and Establishment of this "Transferred" Meaning.

The presence in the *Chanson de Roland* of numerous examples of *amis* used in the "normal" meaning, 'a man, my equal, whom friendship unites to me,' has already been noted.³ But there are also passages like the following:

1. "Amis Rollanz, deus metet t'amne en flors,"⁴

2. "Amis Rollanz, si mare fu ta vie,"⁵ in which the Emperor Charles is regretting the death of Roland, a noble of his *maisniee*, bound to him by *amistie*,⁶ and consequently his inferior.

¹ Perron apele: "Venez avant, amis." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 2202 (noble to noble, his friend).—Et dist Geriaumes: "Amis, ne vous vantez!" *Huon de Bordeaux*, 3114 (noble to noble, his friend).—"Or me dites, compains, amis." *Meraugis de Portlesgues*, 519 (noble to noble, his friend).

² Et Droques ly a dit: "Vous le savez, amis." *H. Capet*, 3350 (noble to noble, his friend).

³ See *supra*, p. 16.

⁴ *Chanson de Roland*, 2898.

⁵ *Chanson de Roland*, 2933.

⁶ For a description of the nature of this relationship, see *supra*, pp. 7 ff.

This use of the word was probably due to the fact that it was to the advantage of a seigneur to make the bonds which joined his vassals to him as easy as possible. He consequently aimed at concealing his superiority under a veil of seeming comradeship, and at conciliating and flattering his vassals by placing them, in appearance at least, on a level of equality with himself. With a view to doing this, he chose the simple expedient of addressing them as *amis*, a title which implied equality between the speaker and the hearer.¹ The vassal, however, realized that this equality, thus implied by the seigneur, was a fiction, and that the nature of the bond between them differed, to a considerable degree, from friendship in the "normal," or usual, meaning of the word. If this bond had been one of true friendship, then, since genuine friendship presumes mutual equality, *amis* would have been mutually used, and there would be examples of the word employed by a vassal as a title for his seigneur, as well as by a seigneur as a title for his vassal. But in more than eight hundred examples of the use of *amis* and its compounds,² there is not a single example in which the word was employed by a vassal as a title for his seigneur. The relation between them, differing in this respect from true friendship, has been discussed at length in Section I,³ where it has been shown to have consisted in the condescending good will of a superior toward an inferior as manifested by the seigneur, and in the respectful homage of an inferior to a superior as offered by the vassal.⁴ Such being the case, the meaning of *amis*, as used to designate this relationship, differed considerably from the "normal" meaning of the word, as used to designate true friendship. Superiority and condescending good will on the part of the speaker were the most important concepts composing this

¹ Because the notion of equality is suggested by friendship.

² Gathered for this study.

³ See *supra*, p. 11, note 3.

⁴ The word *amistié* has been adopted to designate this relation between a seigneur and a vassal, in order to distinguish it from friendship in its usually accepted meaning.

"transferred" meaning, which was, from the speaker's standpoint, 'a man toward whom I have the condescending good will of a superior in his relation to an inferior.'

(b). Historical Development of the "Transferred" Meaning of *Amis*.

In tracing the historical development of *amis* in its "transferred" meaning as used to inferiors, I shall first present all¹ the collected examples, grouping and arranging together those that come from each period,² and making merely such comments as are indispensable to their understanding. After this, I shall draw from these examples my conclusions as to the use and the development of this "transferred" meaning, and as to the connection of this development with that of the "normal" meaning of the word. This method of treatment has been chosen with the object of giving a more unbroken view of the entire development of this "transferred" meaning than would have been possible had these conclusions been severally drawn in the course of the presentation of the examples.

EARLY PERIOD (TO 1100 A. D.).

In the works of the Early Period, all the examples of *amis* used in its "transferred" meaning to inferiors are similar to those cited on page 19 and there employed for the purpose of establishing this meaning. Forty-three per cent. of the total number of the examples of *amis* collected from the works of the Early Period are so used, and are all from the West.³ In them, *amis* is employed by a seigneur as a title for nobles of high rank, such as counts, barons, etc., and there is no example of the word used by a seigneur as a title for nobles of minor rank, such as esquires, *nourri*, etc.

¹ All the examples of the "transferred" meaning of *amis*, except those used as a term of sexual love.

² See *supra*, p. 17.

³ There are no texts of this period from the East or North. See *supra*, p. 18, note 3.

FIRST HALF OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

Seigneur for Nobles of High Rank.—Forty-five per cent. of all the examples of *amis* from the works of the period are used by a seigneur as a title for nobles of high rank; all come from the Center.¹

Seigneur for Nobles of Minor Rank.—Unlike the “transferred” use of the word in the Early Period, where it was employed by a seigneur as a title for nobles of high rank only, there are examples from the first half of the twelfth century which show that the seigneur, desiring to flatter his nobles of minor rank, began to address them as *amis*, a title till then given to his nobles of high rank only. It was from this and from further extensions of the title to men of ever lower and lower rank that arose, as will be shown,² the projective shift in the meaning of *amis*. The use of the word by a seigneur for nobles of minor rank seems to have been fully established by the beginning of the twelfth century, as twelve per cent. of the total number of the examples are thus employed,³ all coming from the West and Center.

SECOND HALF OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

Seigneur for Nobles of High Rank.—*Amis* is used by a seigneur as a title for nobles of high rank in thirty-two per cent. of all the examples collected from the works of the period; these come from all sections of the territory.⁴

Seigneur for Nobles of Minor Rank.—*Amis* is used by a

¹ “*Amis*,” dist il, “g’enten bien ta raison.” *Coronnement Louis*, 1797 (noble to noble, slightly his inferior in rank).

² See *infra*, pp. 27 ff.

³ “*Amis*, beau frere, que as trové as frans?” *Coronnement Louis*, 2445 (noble to esquire).—“*Amis*, beau frere, tu es mal enseigniez!” *Coronnement Louis*, 1820 (noble to esquire).

⁴ “*Amis*,” fait il, “qual la feron?” *Thebes*, 9471 (king to noble).—“*Amis*,” fet il, “savez que monte?” *Erec*, 5792 (king to noble, his friend).—“*Amis*, et des miens et del mien.” *Ille et Galeron*, 314 (King of France to Ille, his vassal).—“*Amis*,” dist il, “queroies tu en Dé?” *Ogier*, 3055 (king to noble of high rank).

seigneur as a title for nobles of minor rank in thirty-four per cent. of all the examples, and in all sections of the territory.¹

Seigneur for Servants.—In the works of the second half of the twelfth century, *amis*, previously used by a seigneur as a title for nobles only, was employed for the first time by a seigneur, and later, through imitation, by all nobles, as a title for servants; which extension in its use shows that the word had already begun to develop pejorative by-notions, and to sink to the level of a mere term of condescension for inferiors. Twelve per cent. of all the examples are of this nature, and are found in works from all sections of the territory.²

Nobles for the Lower Classes of Society.—The pejorative shift that was already taking place in the meaning of the word is further shown by its use by the nobility as a term of condescension for the *bourgeoisie* and lower classes of society. There are examples in the works of the second half of the twelfth century in which *amis* is used by a king as a title for a merchant, and by a noble as a title for a *vilain*.³ These examples constitute nine per cent. of the total number of the examples.

FIRST HALF OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

Seigneur for Nobles of High Rank.—*Amis* is used by a seigneur as a title for nobles of high rank in but thirteen per

¹ "Et Dex," fait il, "esperitables la saut et gart, et toi, amis." *Tristran de Beroul*, 3406 (king to messenger of foreign queen).—"Alés, amis, gardés, ne demorés!" *Aliscans*, 2361 (king to young noble).—"Amis," dist il, "bien soiés vus trovés!" *Ogier*, 4765 (king to young noble of his court).

² Li roi respont: "Amis, c'ert fait": *Tristran de Beroul*, 4455 (king to his dwarf).—"Amis," fet il, "an guerredon." *Erec*, 3182 (noble to his servant).—"Amis," dist il, "entendés cha!" *Sept Sages*, 4916 (king to servant).—Et dist li quens: "Amis, ne t'esmaier." *Aliscans*, 1590 (noble to his door-keeper).

³ Et dist: "Amis, par Saint Nicole." *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, 2192 (king to uncle, disguised as a merchant).—"Amis, parole a moi, bachelor, juvenes hon." *Elie de St. Gille*, 587 (noble to *vilain*, from whom he desires aid).—"Et dex te saut, Lietard, amis!" *Renart*, IX, 163 (noble to *vilain*).

cent. of all the examples of the word found in the works of the period, showing a considerable diminution in this employment; these examples come from all sections of the territory except the East.¹

Seigneur for Nobles of Minor Rank.—*Amis* is used by a seigneur as a title for nobles of minor rank in thirty-four per cent. of all examples. Not one, however, is from the West or the East.²

Seigneur for Servants.—*Amis* is used by a seigneur, or by any noble, as a title for his servants in twenty-six per cent. of all the examples, showing an increase over the corresponding use in the preceding century. These examples are from all sections of the territory except the East, where *amis* in all its meanings seems to have fallen into disuse.³

Nobles for the Lower Classes of Society.—*Amis* is used by a noble as a title for a bourgeois or a *vilain* in fifteen per cent. of all the examples, showing an increase over the corresponding use in the preceding century; these examples are from all sections of the territory except the West and East.⁴

¹ "Amis, Antigonus," dist Alexandre, "sa venez." *Alexandre*, 231 (Alexander to one of his vassals).—Dist a Huon: "Amis, or m'entendés." *Huon de Bordeaux*, 3581 (king to young noble).—"Amis," fait la preus, la cortoise. *Escoufle*, 4026 (princess to chamberlain).

² "Amis," fait il, "ne t'esmaier!" *Bel Desconu*, 2562 (noble to esquire).—"Amis, biax frere, se tu m'en puis aidier." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 6047 (King of France to messenger).—"Amis, biax frere, por deu, car m'i menez." *Amis et Amiles*, 3410 (noble to messenger).—"Amis," fait il a lui, "nel me devés celer." *Chev. au Cygne*, 5894 (noble to messenger).

³ Il dist au botiler: "Amis, or m'en donez." *Alexandre*, 226 (Alexander to his butler).—"Amis, lessez sa eynz venyr." *Fabliau*, II, 186 (lady of nobility to porter).—"Amis, biax frere, ja savez la raison." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 1970 (noble to watchman).—"Amis," chou dist la vielle, "je vous ai moult amé." *Chev. au Cygne*, 146 (queen to servant).—"Amis, biax frere, li cors deu bien te donst." *Amis et Amiles*, 151 (noble to shepherd).—Parole au nain et dit: "Amis." *Meraugis de Portlesgues*, 1323 (noble to dwarf).

⁴ "Amis," dist la roine, "comment sera remis." *Naiss. du Chev. au Cygne*, 2198 (queen to goldsmith).—"Amis," fait il, "frere, diva." *Escoufle*, 5193 (noble to *vilain*).

SECOND HALF OF THE THIRTEENTH AND FIRST HALF OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURIES.

Seigneur for Nobles of High Rank.—Used by a seigneur as a title for nobles of high rank, *amis* is found in but three examples (three per cent. of all the examples of the word), which, contained in the *Brun de la Montaigne*,—¹ a work preserving the ancient tradition of the *Chansons de Geste*,—are of little weight as evidence that *amis* was employed during the period in question by a seigneur as a title for nobles of high rank; it is, indeed, improbable that the word was so used.

Seigneur for Nobles of Minor Rank.—*Amis* is employed by a seigneur as a title for nobles of minor rank in forty per cent. of all the examples, thus showing a steady increase in its use as compared with the preceding half century; these examples are from the North and Center.²

Seigneur for Servants.—As used by a seigneur, or by any noble, as a title for his servants, *amis* is found in thirty-nine per cent. of all the examples, showing a substantial increase in this use as compared with that of the preceding half century.³

Nobles for the Lower Classes of Society.—*Amis* is employed by a noble as a title for a bourgeois or a *vilain* in sixteen per

¹ Si li a dit: "Amis, je t'en pri, vien avant!" *Brun de la Mont.* 2629 (seigneur to one of his chief feudatories, his friend).

² Et dist li quens: "Sonet, amis," *Sone de Noisy*, 1211 (count to young esquire).—"Amis, vous en irés en la vostre contree." *Berte*, 1644 (queen to valet or messenger).—"Amis," fet il "atent moi ci." *Floriant et Florette*, 315 (noble to esquire).—Et li a dit: "Amis, je vous pry et requier." *H. Capet*, 2043 (noble to esquire).—Et li a dit: "Amis, il te faut chevauchier." *Brun de la Mont.*, 53 (noble to messenger).—"Amis, dont estes vous? nel me celez vous ja!" *Maugis d'Aigremont*, 1982 (king to esquire).

³ "Amis," dist il, "por quel mestier?" *Fabliaus*, I. 50 (noble to page).—"Entent a nos," fait il, "amis." *Floriant et Florette*, 635 (noble to servant).—Dist: "Amis, vollentiers a son commant yray." *H. Capet*, 2452 (noble to valet).—"Amis, que dit ma fame? arai je nulement." *Brun de la Mont.*, 2101 (noble to servant).—Puis dit a Folsaie: "Alez avant, amis." *Maugis d'Aigremont*, 4470 (noble to servant).—"Di moy, amis, en ceste voie." *Miracles de N. Dame*, III. 95 (king to servant).

cent. of all the examples; ¹ this use, therefore, had slightly increased.

In this "transferred" meaning, *amis* was often used as a term of disrespect or as an insult. It has been shown above ² that the word, in a way which corresponds to the modern use of the personal pronoun *tu*, was employed by a noble, either as a term of intimacy for his friends, or as a term of condescending good will for his inferiors. If intimacy did not exist, the speaker implied that his hearer was an inferior. If the hearer was, however, his equal, then the speaker, by using *amis*, insulted him. There are many instances of this employment in Old-French works. In the *Erec*, ³ for example, the hero, riding through a forest, meets an insolent knight. *Erec*, angered by his remarks, tries to provoke him to fight. With a view to doing this, he insults him by calling him *amis*.

- (c). Conclusions as to the Use of *Amis* in its "Transferred" Meaning for Inferiors, and a Comparison of these Conclusions with those as to the Use of the Word in its "Normal" Meaning.

The examples in which *amis* was used by the nobility in a "transferred" signification as a title for inferiors having been thus presented and briefly commented upon, it remains to examine these examples, and to draw from them conclusions as to the use and development of the word in this signification throughout the period treated. It has also been thought best to compare these conclusions with those already drawn as to the use of the word in its "normal" meaning. This comparison has been considered advisable because the increase in the use of *amis* in its "transferred" signification was directly responsible

¹ "Amis, volés vous gaaigner?" *Jehan et Blonde*, 2448 (noble to sailor).—"Amis, or prenés a li guerre." *Fabliaus*, II, 118 (merchant to noble).

² See examples of the word in its "normal" and "transferred" meanings.

³ "Amis," fet il, "dire puet l'an Folie aussi tost come san." *Erec*, 5919, where *Erec* thus replies to the noble's remark that he (*Erec*) is a fool even to try to fight with him.

for the decrease in its use in the "normal" signification.¹ From the examples presented, it may be concluded that:

1. *Amis* in its "normal" meaning signified 'a man, my equal, whom friendship unites to me,' and it was thus that the word was chiefly used during the Early Period.

2. The seigneur, desiring to conciliate and to flatter his vassals of high rank by placing them, in appearance at least, on a level of equality with himself, chose the simple expedient of calling them *amis*, a title which implied equality between the speaker and the hearer.

3. This equality between the seigneur and the vassal was none the less a fiction and was recognized as such by both parties. The relation between them was not friendship in the "normal" meaning of the word, but consisted in the condescending good will of a superior toward an inferior as manifested by the seigneur, and in the respectful homage of an inferior to a superior as offered by the vassal.

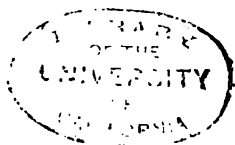
4. *Amis*, when used to express this relationship, signified, from the speaker's standpoint, 'a man toward whom I have the condescending good will of a superior in his relation to an inferior.'

5. In this "transferred" meaning, *amis* is found in the texts of the Early Period employed by a seigneur as a title for nobles of high rank only; in this case, the inferiority on the part of the hearer was slight.

6. There are examples, however, from the first half of the twelfth century in which a seigneur, from a desire to show good will toward nobles of minor rank, has extended to them the term *amis*, until then used as a title for those of high rank only.

7. There are examples from the second half of the twelfth century in which a seigneur has extended to his servants and to the lower classes of society the term *amis*, until then employed for nobles only; in this use, the word has lost its original con-

¹ A comparison of the parallel development of the word in these meanings also throws much light on the cause of the pejorative shift in the meaning of *amis* in particular, and on the causes of pejorative shifts of meaning in general.



notations of friendship, of equality, and at times even of good will, and has become a term of condescension used by a noble for a man greatly his inferior in rank.

8. In the course of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, there is:

A. A steady decrease in the use of *amis* as a title for equals, until it becomes obsolete in the fourteenth century.

B. A steady decrease in the use of *amis* by seigneurs as a title for nobles of high rank, until it becomes obsolete in the fourteenth century.

C. A steady increase in the use of *amis* by seigneurs, or nobles of high rank, as a title for nobles of minor rank.

D. A steady increase in the use of *amis* by nobles as a title for servants.

E. A steady increase in the use of *amis* by nobles as a title for the *bourgeoisie* and the lower classes of society.

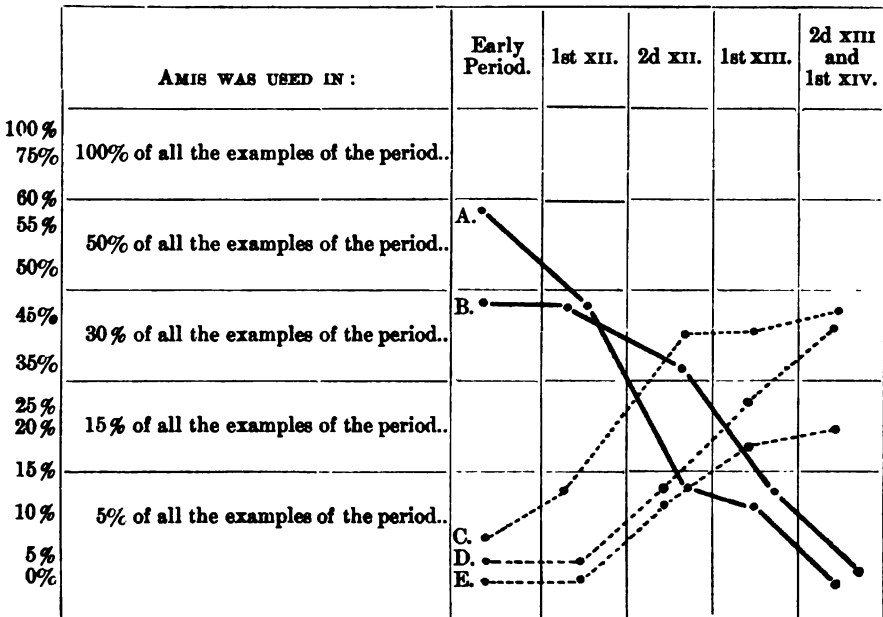
In order to show the development of the word in meaning, it has been deemed advisable to add the appended charts. (See opposite page.) Chart I. gives the percentages in which *amis* was employed by the nobility in its "normal" and in its several "transferred" meanings during each period of the Old-French epoch. On Chart II. has been drawn a diagram of these percentages.

9. From these changes in the employment of the word, it may be concluded that in proportion as *amis* came to be more and more used as a title for men of lower and lower rank, it came to be less and less used as a title for men of equal, or slightly lower, rank. This tendency in the development of the word was probably due to the fact that men ever desire to be distinguished from their fellows, and consequently are unwilling to be addressed by titles used to inferiors. The members of both the Senate and of the House of Representatives of the United States are alike Congressmen; yet there has always been an unwillingness on the part of the Senator to be addressed as "Congressman," a title which confounded him with his fellow members of the Lower House. No society has ever been more observant of social rank and distinction than that of

CHART I.

	Amis was used in its :	Early Period.	1st XII.	2d XII.	1st XIII.	2d XIII and 1st XIV.
A.	"Normal" Meaning to Equals.....	57%	43%	13%	12%	2%
B.	Seigneur to Nobles of High Rank.....	43%	45%	32%	13%	3%
C.	Seigneur to Nobles of Low Rank	0%	12%	34%	34%	40%
D.	Nobles to Servants.....	0%	0%	12%	26%	39%
E.	Nobles to Lower Classes of Society.....	0%	0%	9%	15%	16%

CHART II.



the Middle Ages. It was, therefore, but natural that a noble should dislike being addressed by the same title as his servants.

10. The falling into disuse of the "normal" signification and the corresponding increase in the "transferred" signification resulted in a pejorative shift in the meaning of *amis* used as a title. The occasional "transferred" meaning supplanted the usual "normal" meaning, and *amis* shifted from signifying 'a man, my equal, whom friendship unites to me,' to signifying 'a man toward whom I have the condescending good will of a superior in his relation to an inferior.'

11. In this "transferred" meaning, *amis* was often used as an insult. Since the word was employed in a way which corresponded to the modern use of the personal pronoun *tu*, it was employed by a noble either as a term of intimacy for his friends, or as a term of condescending good will for his inferiors. If intimacy did not exist, the speaker implied that his hearer was his inferior. If the hearer was, however, his equal, then the speaker, by using *amis*, insulted him.

3. *AMIS* USED AS A TERM OF SEXUAL LOVE.

(a). Origin, First Examples and Meaning of *Amis* used as a Love-Term.

Besides the examples in the works of the Early Period in which *amis* was used in its "normal" meaning for equals, and in its "transferred" meaning for inferiors, there are others like the following:

1. "Amis, bels sire, si pou vos ai out."¹
2. "Mielz me venist, amis, que morte fusse."²

In the first of these, the wife of Alexis is bewailing her desertion by her husband; in the second, she is bemoaning his death; in both, *amis* has lost its "normal" meaning and has become equivalent to 'my dear,' or to any other similar term of affection. This change in meaning seems to have been due to

¹ *Alexis*, 109.

² *Alexis*, 485.

the fact that, in both the Roman and Medieval civilizations, such an intimate relation between a man and a woman as genuine friendship carried with it the implication that they were lovers. The one man who could be a woman's *amis* was her "lover." Therefore, the word, when used by a woman as a title for a man, shifted to mean "lover."¹ Once used by women as a term of endearment for their lovers, it was, as a natural consequence, adopted as a title for their husbands. This process of word-shift had already taken place in Latin, where *amica*, when used by a man as a title for a woman, shifted from meaning 'my friend' to meaning 'my love.' I have not succeeded in finding examples of a similar shift in meaning in the case of Latin *amicus*,² when used by a woman as a title for a man.

In the Latin or the French, however, and previously to the ninth century, such a shift, by analogy to the feminine, took place. Also in this use, and following the development of all love titles,³ *amis* lost in many cases the signification 'lover' and became a colorless term of affection equivalent to the English 'dear.'

(b). Historical Development of *Amis* used as a Love-Term.

EARLY PERIOD.

In the works of the Early Period, there are examples in which *amis* is employed by a woman as a title for her husband,⁴ but none in which the word is used by a woman as a title for her lover.⁵

¹ Either a suitor or an *amant*.

² *Amabo* was the title generally used by a woman to her lover: "Quid, amabo, oblicuisti?" (*Plaut. Bacch*, I. 1. 28.).

³ Just as 'sweetheart' has lost its literal meaning and has become a colorless love-term.

⁴ Similar to those given on p. 29. (*Supra*).

⁵ This absence of examples was probably due to the small part played by love in the works of the Early Period and not to the fact that *amis* was not employed, during this period, by a woman as a title for her lover.

TWELFTH CENTURY.

While in the texts that belong to the first half of the twelfth century there is not an example of *amis* employed by a woman as a term of endearment either for her husband or for her lover, there are in the texts of the second half of the same century numerous examples of both these uses, and these too, from all sections of the territory.¹ The considerable increase in this employment in the second half of the twelfth century may be partially due to the importance given to love in the works of that period, as compared with its neglect in the more austere works of the first half of the century. This explanation, however, will not wholly suffice, as there are numerous dialogues between women and their husbands in the *William of Orange Cycle*, in which *frere* is the title used, *amis* finding but small favor. On the other hand, *amis*, previously but little used, became extensively employed in the second half of the twelfth century on account of the influence of the Provençal literature on the cultured society of the times. In the Provençal works, love of a purely Platonic nature was the chief theme. The lady was generally the wife of some seigneur, the lover a court poet in the seigneur's pay. She was to him an ideal rather than a reality, no sexual love being supposed to exist between them. Friendship, as a name for this pseudo-love, was consequently considered especially appropriate.

FIRST HALF OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

During the first half of the thirteenth century, *amis*, as a term of endearment, continued in frequent use for all sections

¹ "Amis, ou avez vos esté?" *Tristan de Beroul*, 1767 (Yseute to Tristan, her lover, *amant*).—"Amis, de ceo m'aseturez." Marie de France, *Guigemar*, 557 (queen to noble, her lover).—"Si me plevi et fiança Que toz jors mes amis seroit." *Erec*, 6280 (girl to lover, suitor).—"Amis, con petit je cuidole." *Ille et Galeron*, 6523 (Ganor to Ille, her suitor).—"Mais, amis, qui que vous soies." *Flore et Blanchefleur*, 2479 (lady-love to prince suitor).—"Amis," dist la dame, "entendées." *Sept Sages*, 3830 (woman to man she desires for *amant*).—"Amis," fet ele, "jeo pensoue." Marie de France, *Chaitivel*, 193 (noble woman to husband).—"Or me dites," fet ele, "amis." *Renart*, X, 256 (noble woman to husband).

of France.¹ The only example cited that requires particular mention is found in the *Escoufle*.² In this story, two children, the son of a count and the daughter of an emperor, are brought up together and begin to love each other dearly. So

Que cist nons lor plaist ja, "amis";
Dous nons est d'ami et d'amie.

They wish, however, to conceal their love under a veil of brotherly and sisterly affection,

Por sa maistre ne por sa mere
Que ne l'apiant ami ou frere;
Frere por couvrir l'autre non,
Si que tot cil de la maison
I notent plus chierté qu'amour.

SECOND HALF OF THE THIRTEENTH AND FIRST HALF OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURIES.

From the second half of the thirteenth century, *amis*, employed as a term of endearment, became influenced by the pejorative shift that was taking place in the regular development of the word. The result of this influence was that:

In all sections of the territory, *amis*, as used by a woman as a term of endearment for her husband, disappeared in the second half of the thirteenth century:

In the West and East, *amis*, as used by a woman as a term of endearment for her lover, disappeared in the second half of the thirteenth century:

In the Center, *amis*, while used by a woman as a term of endearment for her lover in the second half of the thirteenth

¹ "Amis," dist ele, "mout m'est bel." *Fabliaux*, IV, 136 (noble woman to lover, *amant*).—Et dit plorant: "amis, trop me guerroie." *Romansen*, 60, 8 (noble woman to lover, *amant*).—"Amis, or si la vos present." *Escoufle*, 5858 (noble woman to lover, suitor).—"Amis, biaux frere, le mien cors voz present." *Amis et Amiles*, 3433 (noble woman to husband).—"Ice que est," fait ele "amis." *Fabliaux*, III, 82 (noble woman to husband).

² *Escoufle*, vv. 1983 ff.

century,¹ disappeared in the first half of the fourteenth century:

In the North, *amis*, as used by a woman as a term of endearment for her lover, is found in four times as many examples in the texts of the second half of the thirteenth century² as in those of the first half of the fourteenth century.³

(c). Conclusions as to the Use of *Amis* as a Term of Sexual Love.

1. *Amis*, when used by a woman to a man, shifted from meaning 'my friend' to meaning 'my lover,' because the conditions of the times were such that so intimate a relationship between the sexes as friendship could only have existed between lovers.

2. This shift probably took place before the ninth century, and probably in the Latin, being aided by the corresponding shift that had taken place in the meaning of *amica*, when used by a man to a woman.

3. *Amis* was adopted by women as a term of endearment for their husbands before the ninth century.

4. *Amis*, when used by a woman as a title for her lover or her husband, soon lost its meaning, 'lover,' and became a colorless term of attachment or intimacy.

5. In this sense, *amis*, but rarely used during the Early Period, became extensively employed in the second half of the twelfth century. This vogue in the use of the title was due to the fact that friendship was considered an especially appropriate name for the Platonic love that the society of the times had adopted from the Provençal poets.

6. In all sections of the territory, *amis* continued to be em-

¹ Mais, ele li a dit: "Amis." *Jehan et Blonde*, 785 (noble woman to her suitor).—"Amis, on m'i destraint por vous." *Fabliaux*, I, 141 (woman to her *amant*).

² Qui li dist: "Revenés, amis." *Sone de Noiey*, 2330 (noble girl to her lover, suitor).

³ "Amis," ce dist la fee, "ne le vos quier celer." *Maugis d'Aigremont*, 675 (noble woman to her lover).

ployed by a woman as a term of endearment for her husband or lover during the second half of the twelfth and the first half of the thirteenth centuries.

7. In the second half of the thirteenth century, influenced by the pejorative shift which was taking place in the main development, *amis*, when used by a woman as a term of endearment for her husband, disappeared from all sections of the territory.

8. In the first half of the fourteenth century, on account of the same influence, *amis*, when used by a woman as a term of endearment for her lover, disappeared from the East, West, and Center, and became far less frequently employed in the North.

4. *AMIS* USED AS A TITLE FOR RELATIVES.

In texts of the second half of the twelfth century, there are examples of *amis* employed by the nobility as a title for a son¹ or a brother.² The first of these uses is probably due to the peculiar relation in which a young noble stood to his father. It has been already shown³ that, whenever a boy entered the paternal *maisniee*, he ceased to be considered a son, and stood in the same relationship to his father as all the other nobles of the *maisniee*. Hence, it was perfectly natural that he should be addressed as *amis*, a title constantly given to the other nobles. The use of the word by a woman of the nobility as a title for her brother probably arose from *amis* between lovers having taken the value of a simple term of endearment.⁴ There are also in the works of the second half of the twelfth century examples of *amis* used by a father as a title for his son.⁵ After this period,

¹ "Amis, biaux fis," ce dist li cuens. *Pape Gregoire*, 4 (noble to his son).—"Amis, biaux fis, se tu vis tant." *Pape Gregoire*, 24 (woman of noble rank to son).

² "Amis, beaus frere," dist la suer, *Pape Gregoire*, 11 (noble woman to brother).

³ See *supra*, p. 3.

⁴ See use of *amis* as a term of sexual love.

⁵ "Par foy, amis, vos savez bien." *Renart*, XIII, 715 (noble to son).

however, it seems to have fallen into complete disuse, both because of the pejorative shift that was taking place in the main development of the word, and because it had become the custom to prefix the adjective *beau* to all titles used for relatives.¹

B. *Amis* used by the Clergy.

In considering the use of *amis* by the clergy, it must be borne in mind that their position in the society of the times was similar to that of the nobility. The bishops, as the spiritual and lay heads of large territories, the abbots, as the spiritual and lay heads of small districts, were in reality, as well as in theory, on the same footing as the nobles themselves. Like them, they possessed administrative and judicial powers, and were grouped into a hierarchy with an organization corresponding to that of the lay aristocracy. As they used the same titles in the same sense as did the nobility, the detailed history of the use of *amis* by the clergy will be omitted here as superfluous. It can be seen by the examples cited that *amis*, originally used between ecclesiastics and nobles of equal rank,² came to be employed by popes, cardinals, and bishops, as a title for high dignitaries of the church;³ this use was later extended to include the lower officials,—such as clerks, monks,⁴ etc.,—and servants.⁵ The lower orders of the hierarchy also adopted it as a title for their lay and ecclesiastical inferiors.⁶

¹ See section on *beaus amis*.

² "Ahi, Renart," fist il, "amis." *Renart*, XVII, 919 (archbishop to noble of high rank).—"Et pour ce, ce saciés, amis." *Chev. aux Deux Épees*, 430 (monk to noble).

³ "Et il li dist, "Non fac, amis!" *Fabliaux*, V, 81 (priest to cleric).—"Amis, commande toi a lui!" *Miracles de N. Dame*, A, II, 905 (Pope to young man).

⁴ "Amis, veés de ci a vo destre giron!" *Chev. au Cygne*, 4552 (priest to valet).—"Amis," fet il, "ce puet bien estre." *Fabliaux*, IV, 215 (priest to *vilain*).—"Amis," fait il, "moult grant folage." *Fabliaux*, II, 100 (priest to valet).

C. *Amis* used by the Lower Classes of Society.

Although the first examples of *amis* used as a title by the lower classes of society are to be found in works belonging to the second half of the twelfth century, it is most probable that the word was so employed at a much earlier date. The lack of examples in the texts of the Early Period, as well as their scarcity in later works, may be ascribed to the fact that the bourgeois and the *vilain*, on account of the great contempt in which they were held by the upper classes of society, were rarely introduced into a literature written almost exclusively for the nobility. Also, when they were introduced as literary characters, it is a matter of doubt whether the authors placed in their mouths the language actually spoken by the lower classes of the times. The pastorals, for example, are the effusions of court poets, and certainly do not present the speech of the shepherds of the period.

Amis, as used by the lower classes, corresponds with its use by the nobility. It was consequently employed in (a) its "normal" meaning to equals,¹ (b) its "transferred" meaning to inferiors,² and (c) as a term of sexual love;³ also, as it

¹ *Amis* was used in its "normal" meaning in 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ % of all the examples of the word (its use as a love term excepted) used by the lower classes in the works of the second half of the twelfth century; these examples are from the North and Center:

"*Amis*," dist Daires, "ne cremés!" *Flore et Blanchefleur*, 3240 (owner of a vessel to a merchant).—Si li dit: "*Amis*, ça meine cele nef, se vendre la veus." *Renart*, XIII, 1096 (*vilain* to boatman).

Amis was used in its "normal" meaning in 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ % of the examples of the first half of the thirteenth century, in the North:

"*Amis*, on m'apele Connart." *Jeu de St. Nicolas*, 601 (public crier to public crier).

There are no examples after the first half of the thirteenth century.

² *Amis* was used in its "transferred" meaning in 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ % of the examples of the word used by the lower classes of society in the works of the second half of the twelfth century; these examples are from the Center:

"*Amis*," dist il, "par saint Omer." *Sept Sages*, 4943 (*vavasseur* to his servant).

Amis was used in its "transferred" meaning in 83 $\frac{1}{3}$ % of the examples of the first half of the thirteenth century, in the North and Center:

became more and more used as a title for inferiors, it became less and less used as a title for equals, and eventually shifted from signifying 'a man, my equal, whom friendship unites to me,' to signifying 'a man toward whom I have the condescending good will of a superior in relation to an inferior.'

SECTION III.

BEAUS AMIS.

A. As used by the Nobility.

1. THE "NORMAL" MEANING OF *BEAUS AMIS* AS A TITLE FOR EQUALS.

The earliest examples of *beaus¹ amis* in any significance

"Viens cha, amis, errant jesir." *Fabliaux*, II, 39 (miller to his apprentice).—"Amis," dist ele, "enten a moi." *Fabliaux*, I, 17 (*bourgeoise* to porter).—"Amis," font il, "de vos mestier." *Fabliaux*, IV, 128 (townspeople to *menestrel*).—"Amis Juis, vez ci mon gage!" *Gautier de Coincy*, 546 (*bourgeois* to Jew).—"Por Deu, amis, or en pansez." *Fabliaux*, V, 164 (*bourgeois* to servant).

Amis was used in its "transferred" meaning in 100 % of all the examples of the second half of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries; these examples occur in the North and Center:

"Que dites vos," fait il, "amis?" *Fabliaux*, II, 180 (*bourgeois* to English traveler who asks his way in broken French).—"Amis, que Diex vous doint honneur!" *Miracles de N. Dame*, A, VIII, 20 (*bourgeois* to servant).

¹ *Amis* was used by the women of the lower classes of society as a title for their lovers and husbands in all sections of the territory except the East, and during all periods after the first half of the twelfth century:

"Amis," dist ele, "mout m'est bel." *Fabliaux*, IV, 136.—"Amis," fait ele, "tant vous aim." *Fabliaux*, I, 249.—"Amis," dist elle, "vous ireis." *Fabliaux*, IV, 48.—"Amis, vous ne me povez mettre." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A, II, 348.—"Que veez vus, beals sire, amis?" *Marie de France*, *Fables*, XLIV, 7.—"Et qu'avez vous," fait ele, "amis?" *Fabliaux*, IV, 174.—"Amis, vous n'avés pas bien dit." *Fabliaux*, I, 246.

¹ *Beaus* originally signified 'handsome.' Little importance, however, was attached to beauty by the rough warriors of the Early Middle Ages. Their judgments as to the worth of a man were based on the value of his

are found in the *Tristan de Thomas* and in the *Erec*,¹ works of the second half of the twelfth century. In these examples, the interlocutors are nobles of equal rank and great friends, and the compound² signifies 'my honored friend.'

Beaus amis was used in its "normal" meaning, 'my honored friend,' in:

41% of the total number³ of the examples of this compound in the second half of the twelfth century, contained in works from all sections of the territory;⁴

word, the vigor of his arm, the valor of his heart, and are reflected in the nicknames that they bestowed upon their heroes. Many are the *Longépées* and the *Fierebras*, but there is no man with *Bel* as his sobriquet in texts of a date previous to the second half of the twelfth century. During that period, however, the propagation of the conception of Christian chivalry and the importation of the Provençal *courtois* ideal (see chapter on *chevalier*) wrought a complete change in the æsthetic criteria of French society. Gentleness, kindness, and beauty, attributes but little prized by the stern and rugged warriors of the Carolingian days, became, theoretically at least, the *sine qua non* of a perfect warrior. The importance attached to beauty can be seen in the long-winded descriptions in the works of the period of the physical charms of the heroes and heroines. As a result of this change in the æsthetic judgments of society, *beaus*, only sporadically used in the early works, was, from the second half of the twelfth century on, frequently joined as an epithet to titles in direct address. *Beaus* originally added the idea that the person for whom the title was employed was a handsome person. Like most other adjectives that denote mental, moral, or physical excellence, *beaus* soon came to be applied to all persons whom the speaker desired to flatter, whether or not they actually possessed the quality of beauty attributed to them. *Beaus*, therefore, early ceased to mean 'handsome' and became a mere colorless epithet of honor, and *beaus amis* early shifted from signifying 'my handsome friend' to signifying 'my honored friend.'

¹ See examples given under the use of *beaus amis* in the "normal" meaning.

² The designation "compound of a title" has been given to a title to which has been prefixed some adjective such as *beaus*, *douz*, etc.

³ See *supra*, p. 17, for explanation of this system.

⁴ Dit li: "Entendez, beas amis!" *Tristan de Thomas*, 2395 (noble to noble, his friend and equal).—"Eschapez estes; or mangiez, Et je mangerai, biaux amis." *Erec*, 5158 (noble to noble, his friend and equal).—"Rossel," dit Renart, "baus amis." *Renart*, XIII, 1534 (noble to noble, his friend and equal).—"Biaux amis, et puis si di tant." *Renart*, 742 (noble to noble, his friend and equal).

6% of the examples of the thirteenth century, from the Center; ¹ no examples of the fourteenth century.

2. THE "TRANSFERRED" MEANING OF *BEAUS AMIS* AS A TITLE FOR INFERIORS.

Because of a desire to flatter, *beaus amis*, like *amis*,² came to be employed by a seigneur as a title for his noble followers of high and minor rank; in this use, it was a term of condescending good will of superiors toward inferiors, and signified 'a man whom I honor, toward whom I have the condescending good will of a superior in relation to an inferior.' In this meaning, it also came to be used by nobles as a term of condescending superiority for servants and for the lower classes of society.

SECOND HALF OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

Seigneur for Nobles of High Rank.—Twenty-eight per cent. of all the examples of *beaus amis* contained in the works of the period are used by a seigneur as a title for nobles of high rank; these examples are from the Center.³

Seigneur for Nobles of Minor Rank.—*Beaus amis* is used by a seigneur as a title for nobles of minor rank in ten per cent. of all the examples, and in all sections of the territory.⁴

Seigneur for Servants.—Eight per cent. of all the examples

¹ "Mes sires Gauvains, beaus amis, Traiiez vos sus reposer!" *Meraugis de Portlesguez*, 5460 (noble to noble, his friend and equal).

² See *supra*, p. 20.

³ "Biaus amis, vous dites reson." *Fabliaux*, III, 13 (king to noble of high rank).—"Sont ço oeilles, beaus amis." *Thebes*, 9851 (king to noble of high rank).—"Certes," fet li rois, "biaus amis." *Erec*, 5608 (king to noble of high rank).—"Va, biaus amis, arriere reposer a ton tref." *Pierebras*, 289 (king to noble of high rank).—"Renart," fait li rois, "biaus amis." *Renart*, XXII, 425 (king to noble of high rank).

⁴ "Beaus amis," ce li dist li rois. *Fabliaux*, III, 20 (king to seneschal).—"Beaus amis Erec, alez i." *Erec*, 201 (king to esquire).—"Ses tu nouveles, biaus amis, que diras?" *Ogier*, 936 (king to esquire).

are used by a seigneur (or by a noble) as a title for his servants; they are from all sections of the territory.¹

Nobles for the Lower Classes of Society.—*Beaus amis* is used by a noble as a title for a bourgeois or a *vilain* in three per cent. of all the examples; ² they are all from the East.

THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

Seigneur for Nobles of High Rank.—*Beaus amis* is used by a seigneur as a title for nobles of high rank in eighteen per cent. of all the examples of the word found in the works of the period, thus showing a considerable diminution in this employment.³

Seigneur for Nobles of Minor Rank.—*Beaus amis* is used by a seigneur as a title for nobles of minor rank in fifty-one per cent. of all the examples, thus showing an increase over the corresponding use in the preceding century; these examples are from all sections of the territory.⁴

Noble for Servants.—*Beaus amis* is used by a seigneur or by any noble as a title for servants in eighteen per cent. of all the examples, showing an increase over the corresponding use in the preceding century; these examples are from all portions of the territory.⁵

¹ Li rois le clame: "Bel ami." *Tristan de Beroul*, 3542 (noble to servant).—Si li dist: "Biaus amis, alez!" *Erec*, 1409 (noble to servant).—"Ice lor diras, baus amis." *Renart*, XI, 2328 (noble to servant).

² "Biaus ostes, biaux amis, biaux sire." *Erec*, 1322 (noble to bourgeois).

³ "Beaz amis," fait il, "je te di." *Durmart le Gaulois*, 15818 (Pope to noble of high rank).—Et dist li rois: "Vous l'arés, biaux amis." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 6937 (king to noble of high rank).—Olimpias li dit: "Or me di, bels amis." *Alexandre*, 182 (queen to noble of high rank).—"Biaus amis, par l'ame mon pere." *Rose*, 2609 (king to noble).—"Certes, biaux amis, fox tu es." *Rose* 5394 (queen to noble).

⁴ "Ne vos," ce dist li rois, "Elyas, biaux amis." *Chev. au Cygne*, 1697 (king to young noble).—Fait il: "Guilliaumes, biaux amis." *Escoufle*, 3017 (emperor to young son of count).—Dist li quens: "Sones, biaux amis." *Sone de Noisey*, 409 (count to esquire).—"Comment avés non, biaux amis?" *Jehan et Blonde*, 153 (count to esquire).—Floriant respont: "Biaus amis." *Floriant et Florette*, 4153 (noble to young messenger from foreign land).

⁵ "Biaus amis," ce li dist Helie. *Bel Desconu*, 829 (noble girl to dwarf).

Noble for Lower Classes of Society.—*Beaus amis* is used by a noble as a title for a bourgeois or *vilain* in seven per cent. of all the examples, showing an increase over the corresponding use in the preceding century; these examples are from all portions of the territory except the East.¹

FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

Except as a title for esquires, servants, and bourgeois, *beaus amis* is not used in the works of the first half of the fourteenth century. It is employed as a title for the personages mentioned above in works from the North of the territory.²

Like *amis*, *beaus amis* became an insult³ when used by nobles as a title for those nobles of equal rank with whom they were not on terms of intimacy.⁴

Conclusions as to the "Normal" and "Transferred" Meanings of *Beaus Amis*.

1. *Beaus amis* originally signified 'my handsome friend.' While sporadically employed previously to that period, it first came into general use in the second half of the twelfth century, when the changed æsthetic criteria of French society for the

—"Biaus amis," dist la vielle, "se Dix me prest gaagne." *Chev. au Cygne*, 1274 (queen to servant).—"Bone aventure vous doinst Dex," Fait li cuens, "biaus amis, biaus frere." *Escoufle*, 7377 (count to servant).—"Bels amis, ad il bons piés?" *Fabliaux*, II, 246 (king to *jongleur*).—"Or t'en va, beax amis, va t'en." *Fabliaux*, I, 7 (court poet to *jongleur*).

¹ "Beals amis, qu'en volez faire?" *Resurrection du Sauveur*, 73 (noble to bourgeois).—"Biaus amis, bon amandement." *Fabliaux*, II, 117 (noble to bourgeois).

² Et a dit: "Biaus amis, de l'aler est sason." *Maugis d'Aigremont*, 4380 (noble to esquire).—Maintenant li demande: "Biaus amis, dont viens tu?" *Maugis d'Aigremont*, 2262 (noble to bourgeois).

³ "Va, biaus amis, si t'arme n'i ait plus demore!" *Fierebras*, 385 (noble to noble, whom he has defied to combat).—A haute vois escrie: "Biaus amis, que fais tu?" *Elie de St. Gille*, 2078 (noble to noble whom he has challenged).

⁴ See *supra*, p. 26.

first time included bodily beauty among the greatly desired attributes of a perfect man.

2. Since a desire to flatter impelled men to address as *beaus amis* all their friends, whether handsome or not, *beaus* became a mere epithet of honor, and *beaus amis* shifted to mean simply 'my honored friend.'

3. Also because of a desire to flatter, *beaus amis*, first used only between equals, became employed by a seigneur as a title for nobles of high rank, then for nobles of minor rank, and finally for servants, and for the lower classes of society; in these uses, it was a term of condescending good will of a superior toward an inferior and signified 'a man whom I honor, toward whom I have the condescending good will of a superior toward an inferior.'

4. Examples of *beaus amis* in its "normal" and in its "transferred" meanings are found in the texts of the second half of the twelfth century.

5. In the course of the thirteenth and of the fourteenth centuries, there is a steady decrease in the use of *beaus amis* by seigneurs as a title for equals and for nobles of high rank; there is also a corresponding increase in the use of the word by seigneurs as a title for nobles of minor rank, for servants, and for the lower classes of society.

6. From these changes in the employment of the word, it may be concluded that in proportion as *beaus amis* became more and more used as a title for men of lower and lower rank, it became less and less used as a title for men of equal, or slightly lower, rank.

7. The falling into disuse of the "normal" signification and the corresponding increase in the "transferred" signification resulted in a pejorative shift in the meaning of *beaus amis* used as a title. The occasional "transferred" meaning became the usual "normal" meaning, and *beaus amis* shifted from signifying 'my honored friend' to signifying 'a man whom I honor, toward whom I have the condescending good will of a superior toward an inferior.'

8. *Beaus amis*, when used between men of equal rank who were not intimate friends, was an insult.

3. *BEAUS AMIS* AS USED AS A TERM OF SEXUAL LOVE.

Beaus amis was much used as a term of sexual love in the works of the second half of the twelfth and the first half of the thirteenth centuries.¹ Influenced by the pejorative shift that had taken place in the main development of the word,² the combination was no longer employed as a love-term after that period. The examples of the use as a love-term are found in texts from all sections of France.³

4. *BEAUS AMIS* AS USED AS A TITLE FOR RELATIVES.

It has been said ⁴ that *amis* as used as a title for relatives is found only in texts of a date previous to the second half of the twelfth century. *Beaus amis* in this use, however, occurs only in works from the second half of the twelfth century on. At this period, therefore, *beaus amis* seems to have supplanted *amis* as a title for relatives.⁵ Examples of this employment of *beaus amis* are found in texts of the second half of the twelfth,

¹ As a love-term, *beaus amis* at once became colorless, with a meaning similar to 'my dear.'

² See *supra*, p. 42.

³ "Beals amis, quant orrés ma mort." *Tristran de Thomas*, 2893 (Yseute to Tristran).—"Biaus amis, vostre anel vous rent." *Flore et Blanchefleur*, 2806 (noble girl to prince, her suitor).—"Met le jus, biaux amis, si t'en fui a estours." *Elie de St. Gille*, 2608 (princess to suitor).—"Sire," fet el, "beals dulz amis." Marie de France, *Bisclavret*, 32 (wife to noble).—Docement li dist: "Biaus amis." *Bel Desconu*, 2410 (noble woman to suitor).—Li dist: "Biaus amis, longement." *Fabliaux*, I, 175 (noble woman to suitor).—S'entrebesent quant cele crie: "Beaus amis," et cil, "bele amie." *Meraugis de Portlesguez*, 5714 (noble woman to suitor).

⁴ See *supra*, p. 34.

⁵ This was probably due to the fact that *beaus* has always been an adjective that was considered especially appropriate for relatives. Compare *beaus frere*, *beaus pere*, etc.

the thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries, from the North and Center.¹

B. As used by the Clergy.

There are but two examples of *beaus amis* used by a member of the clergy in the texts consulted for this study, showing that the title was not a popular one among that class of society. These examples are from works of the thirteenth century, from the North and Center. In both of them, an abbot addresses as *beaus amis* a member of the lower classes of society, showing that the word had taken on the pejorative by-notions of the "transferred" meaning.²

C. As used by the Lower Classes of Society.

The earliest examples of *beaus amis* used by the lower classes of society as a title in direct address are to be found in works belonging to the second half of the twelfth century. The title was used by the lower classes in the same way as it was employed by the nobility,³ in a "normal" meaning to equals,⁴ in a "transferred" meaning to inferiors,⁵ and as a term of sexual love.⁶

¹ Dist Walegrapes: "Rainouars, biaux amis." *Aliscans*, 6499 (noble to brother).—Dist Desrames: "Rainouars, biaux amis." *Aliscans*, 6597 (father to son).—"Je te conterai, biaux amis." *Fabliaux*, I, 208 (noble to nephew).—"Ector de Salorie, revenés, biaux amis." *Bast. de Bouillon*, 3113 (noble to brother).

² Et dist li abbes: "Pelerin, biaux amis." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 7416 (abbot to pilgrim).—Et dist li abbes: "Biaux amis." *Rustebeuf*, II, 285 (abbot to bourgeois).

³ See *supra*, pp. 37 ff.

⁴ "Mais, biaux amis, por cel disoie." *Flore et Blanchefleur*, 153 (shipowner to merchant).—"Biaux amis, se Dieus me sequerre." *Fabliaux*, III, 278 (bourgeois to friend).—"Quex hom estes vos, beax amis?" *Fabliaux*, I, 308 (servant to fellow servant).

⁵ "Certes, Guillaumes, biaux amis." *Escoufle*, 6319 (bourgeois to servant).

⁶ "Biaux amis, d'une autre foie." *Fabliaux*, V, 182 (bourgeois woman

SECTION IV.

DOUZ AMIS.

The earliest examples of *douz*¹ *amis* are found in the *Ille et Galeron*,² a work of the second half of the twelfth century: in them, the interlocutors are nobles of equal rank and close friends, and the compound signified 'my honored friend.' There continued to be examples of *douz amis* used in this "normal" meaning in thirteenth and fourteenth-century texts from the North and Center.³

Douz amis was also used in the "transferred" meaning, 'a man whom I honor, toward whom I have the condescending good will of a superior in relation to an inferior.' In this signification, it was employed by seigneurs as a title for their noble followers of all ranks; these examples occur in works of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries, from all sections of the territory except the West and East.⁴ Because, ac-

to lover).—"Biaus amis, metomes non." *Fabliaux*, IV, 144 (bourgeois woman to husband).—Si li dist: "Or sus, bel ami." *Fabliaux*, VI, 56 (wife of salt merchant to husband).

¹The quality expressed by *douz* was one of the last that would appeal to the tastes of the rough warriors of the early Middle Ages, and it was not until the introduction of the *courtois* ideal in the second half of the twelfth century that *douz amis* came to be much used as a title in direct address. *Douz* originally signified 'gentle'; soon applied to all persons, whether gentle or not, whom the speaker desired to flatter, it lost, in most cases, this early signification 'gentle,' and *douz amis* came to mean simply 'my honored friend.' See *supra*, p. 37, note 1.

²Por Deu, biax sire, dous amis." *Ille et Galeron*, 2178 (noble of high rank to his friend and equal).

³"Dous amis, qu'est ce que vous dites?" *Rose*, 8546 (noble to his friend and equal).—Et quand Butor le vit, si li dit: "Dous amis." *Brun de la Mont.*, 2203 (noble to his intimate friend).

⁴"Douz amis," fait li rois, "comment?" *Escoufle*, 1342 (king to count).—"Dous amis," fait li rois, "armes et bel atour." *Chev. au Cygne*, 1093 (king to young noble).—Et si li dient: "Dous amis." *Sone de Noiey*, 2068 (prince to noble esquire).—"J'en ay grant joye, doulx amis." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VI., 1079 (king to noble of high rank).—"Perrotin, va t'en, ami doulz." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VII., 440 (noble to noble esquire).

according to the æsthetic criterion of the times, the quality *douz* was one by which a *courtois* was distinguished from a *vilain*, the term *douz amis*, unlike *amis* or *beaus amis*,¹ was never used by nobles as a title for servants or for the lower classes of society. Since this extension of its use to servants and the lower classes, which was the cause of the pejorative shift of *amis* and *beaus amis*,² never took place in the case of *douz amis*, the latter title always continued to be one of the greatest honor, and never had a pejorative shift in meaning.³

Douz amis was chiefly used, however, as a term of sexual love, for which sentiment it was especially appropriate.⁴ As a term of endearment for husbands and lovers, it was much employed in works of the second half of the twelfth, the thirteenth, and the first half of the fourteenth centuries, from all sections of France except the East.⁵

Douz amis is used as a title for relatives in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* only.⁶

¹ See *supra*, pp. 23, 39.

² See *supra*, pp. 28, 42.

³ When *amis* and *beaus amis* shifted pejoratively, *douz amis* became common as a substitute for them.

⁴ *Douz amis* was probably first employed as a love-term and was then extended to other uses. This seems probable in view of the fact that in 75% of the total number of examples of the second half of the twelfth century, *douz amis* is used as a term of endearment.

⁵ Com el disoit: "Dous amis Floire." *Flore et Blanchefleur*, 895 (princess to lover).—"Sire," fet el, "bealz dulz amis." Marie de France, *Bisclavret*, 32 (noble woman to husband).—"Ha," dist la dame, "dous amis." *Sept Sages*, 2209 (noble woman to husband).—"Cil boins voloires!" "Ha, dous amis." *Chev. au Deux Épées*, 4957 (noble girl to lover).—"Ahi! dous amis, debounaire." *Escoufle*, 3214 (noble girl to lover).—"He! douz amis, com voz estiez preudom." *Amis et Amiles*, 416 (noble girl to lover).—"Dous amis, je ne sai que faire." *Conte d'Amours*, 37, 6 (noble girl to lover).—"Dous amis, vostre demoree." *Fabliaux*, I, 140 (noble girl to lover).—"Je croy que Dieux l'a fait, et qu'il est très escria, Pour estre de ces dames apellez dous amis." *H. Capet*, 3836 (queen speaking of young lover).—"Alez le querre, doulx amis." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. I., 632 (noble woman to husband).—"Dous amis, je le vous ottroy." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. II, 370 (noble woman to husband).

⁶ "Oil, par foi, mon ami douls." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. I, 664 (noble woman to son).—"A Dieu, chier filz et ami doulx." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. I, 758 (noble to son).

Douz amis is used by the clergy as a title in direct address in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* only.¹

Douz amis was much used by the lower classes of society as a love-term.² With the exception of this use there are, in the works consulted, but two examples of the combination employed by bourgeois or peasants as a title in direct address.³

SECTION V.

BEAUS DOUZ AMIS.

*Beaus douz amis*⁴ was a very popular title in the Middle Ages and many examples of it occur in the texts consulted for this study. The earliest of these examples is found in the *Ille et Galeron*⁵ and it is frequently met with in texts of the second half of the twelfth, the thirteenth, and the first half of the fourteenth centuries, from all sections of France. In its "normal" meaning, 'my honored friend,' it was used by nobles

¹ Volentiers, frere et amis doulx." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. I, 1485 (hermit to hermit).—"A dieu, mes doulx amis." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VI, 621 (priest to noble).—"Amis doulx, pour l'amour de lui." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. I, 1076 (hermit to young noble).—"Alez a Dieu, mon ami dous." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. II, 741 (priest to priest).

² *Douz amis* was employed by women of the lower classes of society as a love-term for their husbands and lovers in texts of the thirteenth century, from the North and Center:

"Mes dous sires, mes dous amis." *Fabliaux*, IV, 6 (bourgeois woman to lover).—"Trés dous amis, je lou vos di." *Romanzen*, 261 (bourgeois woman to lover).—"Si li dist: "Sire, dous amis." *Fabliaux*, V, 125 (bourgeois woman to husband).—"Ahi!" fet ele, "dous amis." *Fabliaux*, V, 206 (bourgeois woman to husband).

³ Et ele li dist: "Dous amis." *Conte de Folle Largesse*, 160 (neighbor to salt gatherer).

⁴ The addition of both *beaus* and *dous* to *amis* was due either to the Old-French love of repetition and enumeration, or to the fact that the *beaus* of *beaus amis* had become colorless and the *douz* was added as a strengthener.

⁵ See examples given *infra*.

as a title for their friends of a rank equal to their own: ¹ in its "transferred" meaning, 'a man whom I honor, toward whom I have the condescending good will of a superior in relation to an inferior,' it was employed by seigneurs as a title for their noble followers of all ranks; ² it was never, as was *beaus amis*, used by nobles as a term of condescension for servants and for the lower classes of society.³

Beaus douz amis was also used by women of the nobility as a term of sexual love for their husbands and sweethearts.⁴

¹ Hector respond: "*Beaus dous amis.*" *Troie*, 7841 (noble to friend).—Et dist: "*Hâi, biaux dous amis.*" *Erec*, 5449 (noble to friend).—"Brun," fet Renart, "*baus doz amis.*" *Renart*, I, 499 (noble to friend).—"Biaus dous amis, bien le serai." *Bel Desconu*, 1463 (noble to noble of equal rank whom he desires to honor).—"Biaus dous amis, se ne m'aidies." *Sone de Noiey*, 3817 (noble to friend).—"Enten a moi, biaux dolz amis." *Ruste-beuf*, I, 149 (noble to noble of equal rank).—"Qu'est ce," dist il, "*biaus dous amis?*" *Rose*, 7988 (noble to friend).

² Ce dist li rois: "*Biaus douz amis.*" *Erec*, 6497 (king to noble).—"Biaus dous amis," ce dist li rois. *Ille et Galeron*, 271 (king to noble).—"Biaus dous amis, dites le moi." *Sept Sages*, 1146 (king to noble of high rank).—"Par tel covant la pranz, biaz douz amis." *Aimeri de Narbonne*, 742 (king to noble of high rank).—"Biaus douz amis, entendez ça!" *Floriant et Florette*, 3092 (king to noble of high rank).—"Comfotez vous, biau douz amis." *Gautier de Coincy*, 448 (noble of high rank to young noble).—Se li dist: "*Biaus très dous amis.*" *Sone de Noiey*, 385 (count to young noble).—"C'est mes compains, biaux dous amis." *Floriant et Florette*, 4147 (noble of high rank to noble messenger).—Dist li roys Corbarans: "*Tangres, biaux dous amis.*" *Bast. de Bouillon*, 6371 (king to noble of high rank).—"A qui est ces hernois di lor, biaux dous amis." *Maugis d'Aigremont*, 4474 (seigneur to noble follower).

³ In the following example (*Durmart le Gaulois*, 10790), a noble is addressing an archer as *beaus douz amis*: "*Por deu,*" fait il, "*beas dos amis:*" it is probable, however, that, in this example, the author simply desired to pad out the line and it is most improbable that a noble ever wasted two such adjectives on a servant or on a member of the lower classes of society.

⁴ "Biaus dous amis, se ja corage." *Tristan de Beroul*, 2220 (noble woman to lover).—"Biaus dous amis, je vous fac sage." *Flore et Blanchefleur*, 2471 (noble girl to lover).—"Mon joveine enfant, biaux dous amis." *Sept Sages*, 1327 (noble lady to husband).—Fet el: "*Anuit, bels douz amis.*" *Fabliaux*, II, 186 (noble lady to lover).—"Biax dous amis, car baisiés vostre amie." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 3668 (noble girl to lover).—"Beaz doz amis," dist la roine. *Durmart le Gaulois*, 15713 (queen to husband).—"Biaus dous amis, malgré tos ciaux." *Escouffle*, 3602 (noble girl to lover).

It was furthermore employed by priests as a title for their equals and inferiors,¹ by members of the lower classes of society as a title for their friends and servants,² and by the women of the *bourgeoisie* as a love-term for their husbands and sweet-hearts.³

SECTION VI.

CHIERS AMIS.

Chiers amis is first found used as a title in direct address in the *Alexis*:⁴ it occurs in but twenty examples in all the works consulted for this study. In this combination, the *chiers* always retained its full value of 'dear' and never, like *beaus* (in *beaus amis*), became a colorless epithet of honor. It was employed by nobles in its "normal" meaning, 'my dear friend';⁵ in its transferred meaning, 'a man who is dear to me, for whom I have the condescending good will of a superior toward

—"Pour un baisier? Biaux dous amis." *Conte d'Amours*, 40, 1 (noble woman to lover).—"E! Floriant, biaux dous amis." *Floriant et Florette*, 3977 (noble woman to lover).—"Biaux doulx amis, pour sainte Helaine." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A, II, 473 (abbess to lover).

¹ Fait li sains hons: "Biau douz amis." *Gautier de Coincy*, 535 (abbot to noble of high rank).—"Biau douz amis," Fait li hermites. *Gautier de Coincy*, 578 (hermit to repentant sinner, come to him for advice).—"Biaux dous amis, a moult grant tort." *Fabliaux*, II, 63 (priest to young noble).—"Or veillies un petit, biaux dous amis." *Jus de Pelerin*, 53 (priest to servant).

² Cil li respont: "Biau douz amis." *Gautier de Coincy*, 545 (bourgeois to Jew whom he desires to propitiate).—"Biaux dous amis, coi que tu aies." *Jus de St. Nicolas*, 307 (bourgeois to bourgeois).—"Charlot, Charlot, biaux douz amis." *Rustebeuf*, II, 12 (barber to jongleur).—"Biaux dolz frere, biaux doz amis." *Fabliaux*, V, 163 (bourgeois to servant).

³ "Bailliés ça dont, biaux doz amis." *Fabliaux*, VI, 122 (bourgeois woman to lover).—Elle moi dist: "Biaux dous amis." *Romanzen*, 69, 29 (bourgeois woman to lover).

⁴ See examples of the use of the word as a term of sexual love.

⁵ Primaux respudi: "Amis chers." *Renart*, XIV, 653 (noble to noble of equal rank, his friend).—Si li dit: "Chiers amis, j'ai esté mal aprise." *Brun de la Mont*. 2216 (noble to noble, his friend).

an inferior';¹ as a term of sexual love;² and as a title for relatives.³ It was also used by the clergy.⁴ It was, however, never employed by or for servants or the lower classes of society; this would seem to indicate that it never became popular among the mass of the people, but rather remained a title of the nobility. The examples of its use are from all sections of France.⁵

SECTION VII.

BEAUS CHIERS AMIS.

Beaus chiers amis is first found, as a title in direct address, in the texts of the second half of the twelfth century. It was frequently employed in this period as well as in the first half of the thirteenth century. There is not a single example of it in a text later than the year twelve hundred and fifty.⁶ During the hundred years of its life, *beaus chiers amis* was used by nobles as a title for their friends and equals,⁷ by seigneurs as

¹ "Mais, or me dites, amis chiers." *Renart*, XVII, 200 (king to noble of high rank).—Rois Lotaires respont: "Bels sire, ciers amis." *Naiss. du Chev. au Cygne*, 426 (king to noble of high rank).—"Jehan," dist li cuens, "amis ciers." *Jehan et Blonde*, 155 (noble to esquire).

² "O chiers amis, de ta juvente bele!" *Alexis*, 476 (wife to Alexis).—Se li a dit: "Mes ciers amis." *Bel Desconu*, 2354 (noble woman to lover).—"Si ay je, chier sire et amis." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A, I, 48 (noble woman to lover).

³ Il le plaint et regrete en disant: "chiers amis." *Bast. de Bouillon*, 401 (noble to brother).

⁴ "E je vus prie, cher amy Pouké." *Fitz Warren*, 63 (bishop to young noble).

⁵ In this study, France is taken in the sense of North France.

⁶ *Beaus chiers amis* probably fell into desuetude because of the opposite nature of the adjectives *beaus* and *chiers*. *Beaus* had, by the first half of the thirteenth century, become a mere epithet of honor with a decidedly pejorative tinge in meaning; *chiers* was an adjective of respect and had not lost its original coloring: the result was that the two, being so dissimilar in meaning, were not joined to the same word.

⁷ "Ahi, Tristan, si grant dolors Sera de vos, beaus chiers amis." *Tristan de Beroul*, 845 (noble to noble friend).—"Or me dites, biaux amis chiers." *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, 1721 (noble to his friend).—"Donés les

a title for their noble followers of all ranks,¹ and by noble women as a term of sexual love.² There is not an example of the title used by or for the clergy, or by or for the lower classes of society.

SECTION VIII.

MISCELLANEOUS COMPOUNDS OF AMIS.

The following compounds of *amis* are not found in more than two examples of each kind in the four hundred thousand lines of Old-French texts read for this study. They may therefore be classed as sporadic linguistic curiosities, rather than as titles which were in much circulation among the society of the times.

*Beaus amis genz*³ is found in but one example, and that in the *Troie*:⁴ *mes amis mignos*⁵ occurs in the *Pastorellen* only:⁶ *mes amis debonaire*⁷ is met with only in the *Miracles de N. Dame*:⁸ *douz chiers amis* is peculiar to the *Ille et Galeron*:⁹ *bons*¹⁰ *amis* is found only in the *Chevalier au Cygne*.¹¹

moi, baüz amis cherz." Renart, XIV, 235 (noble to his friend).—"Guivers," fait il, "beaz amis chiers." *Durmart le Gaulois*, 6106 (noble to his friend).

¹ "Biaus amis chiers, se il vous plest." *Rose*, 2809 (seigneur to noble of high rank).—Et dist Callos: "Oyl, biaus amis chiers." *Ogier*, 1299 (prince to noble of high rank).—"Biaus amis chiers, biaus amis douz." *Gautier de Coincy*, 582 (hermit to young noble).

² "Biaus chiers amis, et g'en ai doté." *Tristran de Beroul*, 721 (noble woman to lover).—"Peché," fet el, "bels amis chiers." *Fabliaux*, II, 186 (noble woman to lover).

³ See *gentilhom* for discussion of the adjective *genz*.

⁴ "Jason, sire, beaus amis genz." *Troie*, 1862 (noble woman to lover).

⁵ See use of *mignon* as a title in direct address; see chapter on love-titles.

⁶ "Mes amis mignos, Qui m'a en sa baille." *Pastorellen*, II, 102, 18 (shepherdess to shepherd lover).

⁷ See use of *debonaire* as a title in direct address; see chapter on love-titles.

⁸ "Jehan, mon ami debonnaire." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VI, 433 (noble woman to lover).

⁹ "Dous ciers amis, confortés vos." *Ille et Galeron*, 1877 (wife to noble).

¹⁰ See chapter on *bons hom* for discussion of the adjective *bons*.

¹¹ "Hastés vous, bons amis, trop avés demouré." *Chev. au Cygne*, 164 (queen to servant).

CHAPTER II.

AMIE AND COMPOUNDS.

SECTION I.

AMIE.¹

A. As used by the Nobility.

1. THE "NORMAL" MEANING OF *AMIE* AS A TITLE FOR EQUALS.

It has been said ² that, in both the Roman and the Medieval civilizations, the platonic friendships of our times were impossible, and that such an intimate relation between a man and a woman as genuine friendship could have existed only between lovers: that the only woman who could be a man's *amie* was his wife, sweetheart, or mistress. Therefore, *amie* in the "normal" meaning, 'my friend,' could have been used by women as a title in direct address for their women friends only. However, because *amie*,³ by analogy to *amis*, had come to be

¹ *Amica* was used in Latin in the sense of 'friend':

At hæc amicæ erunt . . . *Ter. Hec.* 5. 2. 24.

Because platonic friendship could not exist between a man and a woman, *amica*, when employed in relation to a man, signified lady love, and then *meretrix*. Indeed, at a later period, *amica* took on such a pejorative shade of meaning that it became a word indicating less respect than *concubina*. Examples of this signification of the word are the following:

Mulierem pejorem quam hæc amica est phædromi non vidi. *Plaut. Curc.*, 5. 1. 3.

Sive ista uxor sive amica est. *Ter. And.*, I. 3. 11.

Masurias scribit, pellicem apud antiquas eam habitam, quam nunc vero nomine Paulo honestiore concubinam appellari. *Paul. Dig.*, 50. 16. 144.

Leones vel concubenarios vulgariter amigros. *Martial*, Lib. 7, Epig., 69.

² See *supra*, p. 30.

³ The first examples of *amie* used as a title in direct address are found in texts of the second half of the twelfth century; however, the presence of such compounds as *bele amie* and *chiere amie* in the *Roland* shows that the parent word was probably employed as a title from the earliest period of the language.

extensively employed by women as a title for their inferiors,¹ it early ceased to be employed as a title for their equals and there is consequently but one example of this use in the works consulted for this study.²

2. THE "TRANSFERRED" MEANING OF *AMIE* AS A TITLE FOR INFERIORS.

It has been said³ that *amis* in the meaning, 'a man toward whom I have the condescending good will of a superior toward an inferior,' was much used by nobles as a title for men of all classes of society of a rank inferior to their own. In texts from all periods and from all sections of France covered by this study, *amie*, by analogy to *amis*,⁴ was extensively employed by noble men and women of all ranks as a title for noble girls or women of an age or of a rank inferior to their own, such as ladies in waiting, *chambrières*, and the like.⁵ Ninety-eight per cent.⁶ of all the examples of *amie* used by the nobility are of this use and so it can be said that the "transferred" meaning of *amie* drove out the "normal" meaning before the first half of the thirteenth

¹ See *infra*, p. 53.

² "Que je nel voie! Avoi, amie," Fet la dame, "fos n'est il mie." *Meraugis de Portlesguez*, 5033 (noble woman to intimate friend).

³ See *supra*, p. 19.

⁴ It is possible, however, that *amie* as a love-term was equivalent to 'my dear'; in this case, it could have been used by nobles as a title for those noble women of an inferior age or rank with whom they were on terms of a certain fatherly liberty.

⁵ "Amie, ore vus covent ben." *Tristran de Thomas*, 1739 (king to young lady in waiting).—"Amie, est ma dame alee?" Marie de France, *Guigemar*, 441 (noble to girl in waiting on the queen).—"Amie," dist il, "descendés." *Chev. aux Deux Épées*, 1220 (king to young ward a princess).—Et cil li respondi: "Amie." *Bel Desconu*, 2307 (noble to lady in waiting on the queen).—Ysolt respunt: "Merci, amie." *Tristran de Thomas*, 1425 (queen to lady in waiting).

⁶ As in the case of *amis*, *amie* employed as a love-term has been treated separately and the examples of *amie* in this use have not been included in the proportion of examples mentioned. See *supra*, p. 17.

century. However, unlike *amis*,¹ *amie* in its "transferred" meaning never came to be used by nobles as a term of condescending superiority for their servants or for members of the lower classes of society.

3. *AMIE* AS A TERM OF SEXUAL LOVE.

In the texts consulted for this study, *amie* was chiefly used as a term of sexual love.² It has been said³ that the *amie* of a man in the Middle Ages could only be the woman he loved. His love for her could be a legitimate one and, in this case, his *amie* would be his sweetheart or his wife: or, his love for her could be an illegitimate one, in which case his *amie* would be his mistress. In works of all periods and from all sections of France, *amie* was, therefore, employed by kings and nobles of all ranks as a title for their wives,⁴ sweethearts, and mistresses.⁵

¹ See *supra*, p. 23.

² In the Latin, *amica* was the designation only for a woman for whom a man had an illegitimate love, and the word had fallen into such disrepute that it was considered a term of less respect than *concubina*. (See *supra*, p. 52). In its transformation from the Latin into French, the word seems to have undergone a refining process, the conception that the love between a man and his *amie* was necessarily an illegitimate one was lost, and *amie* designated the wife and sweetheart of a man as well as his mistress. In the texts of the period, however, it was more especially employed as a designation for a sweetheart. In this, it seems to have been the complement of *suer*, which, while also being used as a title for the mistress or sweetheart of a man, was particularly employed as a title for his wife. The meaning, 'sweetheart,' is clearly brought out in the following example:

Si li comança a anquerre del chevalier qu'ele li die s'ele estoit sa fame ou s'amie. *Erec*, 4685 (*Erec* to woman whom he finds weeping beside the dead body of a noble).

³ See *supra*, p. 52.

⁴ Et li a fait li rois: "Amie." *Tristan de Beroul*, 3189 (king to wife).—"Por amour Deu," fait il, "amie." *Pape Gregoire*, 77 (count to wife).—"Quel part, amie, ert vostre vis?" *Ille et Galeron*, 4169 (noble of high rank to wife).—"Or vous sousfrés," dist il, "amie." *Sept Sages*, 4412 (duke to wife).—"Amie," fet il, "qu'est ceci?" *Fabliau*, III, 83 (noble to wife).—"He, amie," dist il, "qui vous donna corage?" *Bast. de Bouillon*, 5814 (noble to wife).

⁵ Li miens amis me dist: "Amie." *Bel Desconu*, 1593 (noble to lady

Furthermore, *amie* seems to have been the title by which a man addressed a prostitute who accosted him on the street. In an interesting example from *Rustebœuf*,¹ a prostitute has gone to the docks at Alexandria, in Egypt, to see the departure of an expedition for the Holy Land. She decides that she also would like to make the trip; she accosts one of the members of the expedition and asks him whether the captain would allow her to go. The man accosted, knowing her to be a prostitute, answers as follows:

"M'amie, sachiez que li mestre
Ne l'vous porront par droit desfendre,
Se vous lor avez rien que tendre."

Amie was very frequently preceded by the possessive pronoun *ma*, and became fused with it to form the word *mamie*, which is occasionally met with in the texts of the period.² The *a* of *amie* was also confounded with the *a* of the article, or of the possessive pronouns *sa* or *ma*, and there arose a new word *mie* that is occasionally found in Medieval works.³

4. *AMIE* AS A TITLE FOR RELATIVES.

By analogy to *amis*,⁴ *amie* was occasionally employed as a title for relatives, particularly for relatives greatly inferior in

love).—Fet li grans chevalier: "Amie." *Durmart le Gaulois*, 2493 (noble to lady love).—Puis li dis: "Amie." *Pastorellen*, II, 19, 44 (noble lover to shepherdess).—Et li rois li respont: "Amie." *Fabliaux*, V, 250 (king to lady love).—"Amie, a mon gré respondiez." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. IV, 280 (king to lady love).—Si dist: "A Dieu vous rench, amie." *Sone de Noiey*, 255 (noble to lady love).—Et Jehans dist: "A Dieu, amie." *Jehan et Blonde*, 1963 (noble to lady love).—"M'amie, vezci la meillier!" *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VII, 688 (noble to lady love).—"Amie, Yseut, car esvelliez!" *Tristran de Thomas*, 18 (noble to mistress).—"Amie, si fache, et vous de quoi." *Fabliaux*, II, 75 (priest to mistress).

¹ *Rustebœuf*, II, 267.

² Sovent regretoit sa mamie. *Fabliaux*, *Ms. de Turin*, fol. 11 ro. col. 1.

³ "Qe fait ma mie? gardez nel me noier." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 6009.

⁴ See *supra*, p. 34.

age to the speaker. There are examples in the texts of the period of *amie* used by a mother as a title for her daughter, by an aunt as a title for her niece.¹

B. As used by the Clergy.

Amie was used by priests as a title for young women or girls :² by abbesses as a title for their nuns :³ by priests as a title for their mistresses.⁴

C. As used by the Lower Classes of Society.

Amie was used by bourgeois women in the "normal" meaning as a title for their intimate women friends :⁵ by bourgeois men and women as a title for young girls :⁶ by bourgeois men as a term of sexual love for their wives, sweethearts, and mistresses.⁷

¹ "Adonques, ferons nous partie, por toi et pour l'enfant, m'amie, garde tes clefs!" *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VI, 189 (mother to daughter).

² "Amie, fille douce, molt me venist a gré." *Naiss. du Chev. au Cygne*, 2288 (hermit to little girl whom he has found in the forest).—"M'amie, de ce que me dites." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VI, 1504 (bishop to young woman).—"M'amie, Dieu par sa puissance." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VI, 861 (monk to young princess).

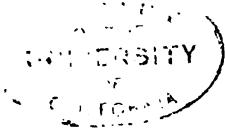
³ "M'amie, je seroie nice." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VII, 476 (abbess to her nuns).

⁴ "Amie, si fach, et vous de quoi." *Fabliaux*, II, 75 (priest to mistress).

⁵ "M'amie, or sus, si en irons!" *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VI, 1138 (bourgeois woman to woman friend).

⁶ "A li parolle et dist: "Dont estes vous, amie?" *Naiss. du Chev. au Cygne*, 2379 (bourgeois woman to young girl). La vieille li a dit: "Amie." *Gautier de Coincy*, 433 (old bourgeois woman to young girl).—"Bien soies vous venue, amie!" *Fabliaux*, II, 34 (miller's wife to young girl cousin).

⁷ "Lessiez ester," fet il, "amie." *Marie de France*, *Fables*, XLV, 34 (*vilain* to wife).—"Bien vigniés vus," dist il, "amie." *Sept. Sages*, 2154 (bourgeois to sweetheart).—Li a dit: "Mes de mer, amie." *Fabliaux*, I, 98 (*vilain* to wife).



SECTION II.

BELE AMIE.

*Bele amie*¹ was an extremely popular title throughout the Old-French period up to the second half of the thirteenth century. There is not a single example of the title in a text later than this date, showing that it had probably disappeared from the speech of the society of the times. In texts of the eleventh, twelfth, and the first half of the thirteenth centuries from all sections of the territory covered by this study, *bele amie* was used by noble men and women as a title for noble women of an age inferior to their own,² by noble men and women as a title for their young women relatives,³ and by nobles of all ranks as a title for their wives, sweethearts, and mistresses.⁴

Bele amie was also used by priests as a title for their mistresses,⁵ and by the lower classes of society as a title for their wives, sweethearts, and mistresses.⁶

¹ Because to every lover a mistress appears beautiful, *bele of bele amie* at once became a purely colorless honorific prefix to *amie*.

² Il li demanda: "Bele amie." *Thebes*, 2389 (noble to young girl, a stranger).—Ce dist li rois: "Suer, bele amie." *Bel Desconu*, 237 (king to young woman in waiting on the queen).—"Por coi plorés, amie bele?" *Bel Desconu*, 1548 (noble to young girl, a stranger).—"Biele amie, saine toi." *Merlin*, 10 (noble to his young ward).—A conseil li dist: "Bele amie." *Fabliaux*, VI, 81 (countess to young lady in waiting).

³ "Tu ies ma fille, belle amie." Marie de France, *Fraïse*, 460 (mother to daughter).

⁴ "E," respunt Oliviers, "ne dutez, bele amie." *Pelerinage de Charlemagne*, 712 (noble to sweetheart).—"Bele amie, mar me vëistis." Marie de France, *Eliduc*, 941 (noble to sweetheart).—"Dites moi, bele amie chiere." *Erec*, 2515 (noble to wife).—"Amie bele, Blanceflor." *Flore et Blanchefleur*, 901 (prince to sweetheart).—"Biele amie, dites le moi!" *Sept Sages*, 1426 (king to wife).—"Biele amie, moustrés le moi." *Sept Sages*, 4416 (duke to wife).—"Je m'en voil aler, bele amie." *Tristran de Thomas*, 24 (noble to mistress).—"Bele amie, n'aiez pöur!" Marie de France, *Equitan*, 228 (noble to mistress).

⁵ "Bele amie, se Dieus m'ait." *Fabliaux*, II, 282 (priest to mistress).

⁶ "U estes vous, amie bele." *Sept Sages*, 2262 (bourgeois to wife).—

SECTION III.

DOUCE AMIE.

Douce amie,¹ first used as a title in direct address in the texts of the second half of the twelfth century, was employed throughout the entire remainder of the period more frequently than was *amie* or any of its compounds. In works belonging to the second half of the twelfth, to the thirteenth, and to the first half of the fourteenth centuries from all sections of France, *douce amie* was used by noble women as a title for their intimate friends,² by noble men and women as a title for young noble women³ and for their young girl relatives,⁴ and by nobles of all ranks as a title for their wives,⁵ sweethearts,⁶ and mistresses.⁷

Et dist: "Dieus vous saut, bele amie." *Fabliaux*, V, 104 (bourgeois to sweetheart).

¹ *Douce* at once became a purely colorless honorific prefix. For a discussion of the adjective *douz*, see *supra*, p. 45, note 1.

² "Bele suer Gloris, douce amie." *Flore et Blanchefleur*, 2389 (noble woman to her intimate friend).

³ "Cunseillez mie, ma dulce amie." Marie de France, *Guigemar*, 438 (noble to young lady in waiting on the queen).—"Por Deu, vos pri, ma douce amie." *Thebes*, 2179 (noble to young girl, a stranger).—"Galestrot," dist il, "douce amie." *Fabliaux*, IV, 184 (noble to young lady in waiting on his lady love).—"Venés avant, ma douce amie." *Bel Desconu*, 1685 (noble to young girl, a stranger).—"Qu'est cou, ma douce amie, que voi la roujoier." *Naiss. du Chev. au Cygne*, 2475 (noble to young lady in waiting).—"Ma douce amie, por Diu, et vous c'avés?" *Huon de Bordeaux*, 4815 (noble to young girl).—"Certes," fait ele, "douce amie." *Floriant et Florette*, 4081 (princess to her lady in waiting).—Fait ele: "Douce amie bele." *Escouffe*, 5774 (noble woman to young girl).—Puis li a dit: "Ma douce amie." *Fabliaux*, III, 270 (noble lady to young girl).

⁴ Puis li a dit: "Bele suer, douce amie." *Aliscans*, 2964 (noble to young sister).

⁵ "Ne savez, douce amie, chiere." *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, 3076 (king to wife).—"Dites le moi, ma douce amie." *Erec*, 2519 (noble to wife).—"Mout volentiers, ma douce amie." *Ille et Galeron*, 1908 (noble to wife).—"Douce amie, sachez de voir." *Renart*, XI, 29 (noble to wife).—"Bele suer, dolce amie, je sui li vo plevis." *Chev. au Cygne*, 4115 (king to wife).—"Certes," fait li rois, "doce amie." *Durmart le Gaulois*, 15718 (king

It was also employed by priests as a title for young women friends¹ and for their mistresses;² by bourgeois as a title for young women,³ and for their wives, sweethearts, and mistresses.⁴

to wife).—"Douce amie," fait il, "pour Dieu parlez a moi." *Berte*, 3119 (king to wife).—"Non fera, douce amie," dist li rois Bauduin. *Bast. de Bouillon*, 2637 (king to wife).—"A," fait B "bele suer, douce amie." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 3168 (noble to wife).—"Vostre merci, ma douce amie." *Fabliaux*, VI, 146 (noble to wife).—"Mais or me dites, douce amie." *Fabliaux*, VI, 108 (noble to wife).—"Douce amie," dist il, "nuls hons ne m'adiroit." *Bast. de Bouillon*, 5791 (noble to wife).

"Par deu," fet il, "ma dulce amie." Marie de France, *Eliduc*, 669 (noble to sweetheart).—"Alez avant, ma douce amie." *Erec*, 812 (noble to sweetheart).—"Doce amie, fleur de lis." *Aucassin et Nicolette*, 11, 32 (noble to sweetheart).—Puis li a dit: "Bele suer, douce amie." *Ogier*, 1694 (noble to sweetheart).—Et puis li dist: "Ma douce amie." *Chev. aux Deux Épees*, 11782 (noble to sweetheart).—"Douce amie, se je vos ai." *Meraugis de Portlesguez*, 4435 (noble to sweetheart).—Et li dist: "Ma douce amie." *Pastorellen*, III, 50, 31 (noble to shepherdess sweetheart).—"A dieu vous rench, tres douche amie." *Sone de Noiey*, 2321 (noble to sweetheart).—"Chertes, belle tres douce amie." *Robin et Marion*, 293 (noble to shepherdess sweetheart).—"Douce amie, a Dieu je m'en vois." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VI, 492 (noble to sweetheart).

"E! doulee amie, en covenant." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VII, 480 (noble to nun, his mistress).

"Vous dites voir, ma douce amie." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. II, 1015 (bishop to young matron).—Dist il: "Ma douce amie, comment vos est avis?" *Naiss. du Chev. au Cygne*, 2275 (hermit to young girl whom he has adopted).

"Et il li dist: "Ma douce amie." *Fabliaux*, V, 119 (priest to mistress).—Puis li a dit: "Amie doce." *Fabliaux*, V, 168 (priest to mistress).—Lors dist li prestre: "Doce amie." *Fabliaux*, IV, 158 (priest to mistress).

"Ma douce amie, or vous seez." *Fabliaux*, II, 32 (miller to young girl who has come for flour).—"Or vous taisiés, ma douce amie." *Fabliaux*, II, 36 (bourgeois woman to young bourgeois friend).—"Por amor Deu, ma douce amie." *Fabliaux*, V, 181 (bourgeois woman to young bourgeois girl).

"Et chieix respont: "Ma douche amie." *Fabliaux*, II, 158 (bourgeois to sweetheart).—"Gardez l'ostel, ma douce amie." *Fabliaux*, IV, 135 (bourgeois to wife).—Sire Hains a dit: "Douce amie." *Fabliaux*, I, 98 (bourgeois to wife).—Et dit: "Ydoine, douce amie." *Fabliaux*, V, 217 (bourgeois to wife).

SECTION IV.

CHIERE AMIE.

*Chiere amie*¹ is first found used as a title in direct address in works of the eleventh century and is frequently met with in the texts of the second half of the twelfth, the thirteenth, and the first half of the fourteenth centuries. In these texts, coming from all sections of the territory except the East, *chiere amie* is used by noble women as a title for their intimate friends,² by noble men and women as a title for young women, their inferiors in point of age,³ and by nobles as a love term for their wives, sweethearts, and mistresses:⁴ also by priests as a title for their mistresses,⁵ and by bourgeois as a title for their sweethearts.⁶

¹ *Chiere*, unlike *bele* and *douce*, did not become colorless, but retained its full signification, 'a person dear to me' (see discussion of *chier*, *supra*, p. 50, note 6).

² "Trachere amie, suer douce, jo te prieo." *Prose Legends*, F. 33, 3 (noble woman to intimate friend).

³ "Soer, chiere amie, d'hume mort me demandes." *Roland*, 3713 (king to young noble girl).—Si li a dit: "Amie chiere." *Sept Sages*, 3780 (noble to young woman).—Ele li dist: "Amie chiere." *Escoufle*, 4918 (noble woman to young girl).—"R'alés vous en, amie chiere." *Fabliaux*, I, 129 (noble woman to girl in waiting).—"De Dieu en puissance gré avoir." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. IV, 205 (king to young noble girl).

⁴ "Non fera il, ma chiere amie." *Tristan de Beroul*, 284 (noble to mistress).—Se li a dit: "Amie chiere." *Ille et Galeron*, 4298 (noble to his wife).—Renart li dist: "Amie chere." *Renart*, XI, 20 (noble to wife).—"Car je pens, douce amie chiere." *Escoufle*, 3394 (noble to sweetheart, a princess).—"Ma douce suer, amie chiere." *Fabliaux*, I, 227 (noble to wife).—"Chiere amie, je vous diray." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. IV, 359 (king to sweetheart).—"M'amie chiere." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VII, 791 (noble to wife).

⁵ "Ma chiere dame et amie." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. II, 406 (priest to mistress).

⁶ "Bele très douce chiere amie." *Fabliaux*, III, 280 (bourgeois to wife).

SECTION V.

BELE DOUCE AMIE.

In works of the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries, from all sections of the territory, *bele douce amie* is used by noble men and women as a title for young girls,¹ by nobles as a title for their wives, sweethearts and mistresses,² by bourgeois as a title for young girls³ and for their mistresses, sweethearts, and wives.⁴

SECTION VI.

MISCELLANEOUS COMPOUNDS OF AMIE.

There is only one example of each of the following compounds of *amie* in the works consulted for this study, showing that they never came into any considerable use in the society of the times.
Courtoise amie.

Ele respoint: "Cortoise amie." *Pape Gregoire*, 72 (noble lady to her girl in waiting).

¹ "Bele douce amie," fait il, "dites." *Aucassin et Nicolette*, 38, 3 (king to noble young girl).

² "Ha," fet il, "bele douce amie." *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, 1247 (noble to lady love).—"Blanchefflor, bele douce amie." *Flore et Blanchefleur*, 935 (prince to lady love).—"Qu'avés vous, douce amie biele." *Sept Sages*, 839 (king to wife).—"Bele tres douce chiere amie." *Gautier de Coincy*, 251 (noble to wife).—"Je vos ai tot mon cuer doné." *Pastorellen*, IV, 28, 30 (noble to shepherdess sweetheart). Dist li rois Bauduins: "Belle tres douche amie." *Bast. de Bouillon*, 2639 (king to lady love).—"C'est bien, belle douce amie." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VII, 240 (noble to nun, his mistress).

³ "Galestrot, bele douce amie." *Fabliaux*, IV, 180 (bourgeois woman to her girl in waiting).

⁴ Si li dist: "Biele amie douce." *Fabliaux*, IV, 9 (bourgeois to wife).—"Alez tantost sans destrier." *Fait Jehans*, "bele douce amie." *Fabliaux*, I, 200 (bourgeois to wife).

Douce chiere amie.

"Et vous, ma douce amie chiere." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VII, 84 (abbess to one of her nuns).

Chiere amie debonnaire.

"Ma chiere amie debonnaire." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. IV, 345 (king to his lady love).

Gente amie.

"Dites," fet il, "amie genta." *Renart*, XVII, 1476 (noble to wife).

Haute amie.

"Que faites vous, ma haut amie?" *Sept Sages*, 3189 (noble to lady love).

Loyale amie.

"Or ne vous harray je jamais, Ma tresdulce loyal amie." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. IV, 395 (king to his sweetheart).

CHAPTER III.

BACHELERS AND BAISSELE.

SECTION I.

BACHELERS.

In Old-French, *bachelers*,¹ signifying 'young man,' 'youth,' is rarely used as a title in direct address, *valez*, *escuiers*, and *amis* taking its place. Its non-employment may possibly be ascribed to the fact that the word suggested the youth or inferiority of the hearer, and that young men who aspire to a man's position are sensitive to any emphasis on their youth or inferiority, and are flattered when addressed by those titles used for men.

There are but three examples of *bachelers* employed as a title in direct address in the works consulted: these examples are found in texts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and from the North and Center.

In the first of these examples, Count William of Orange urges a young peasant to release him from captivity:

"Amis, parole a moi, bachelor, jovenes hom!" *Elie de Saint Gille*, 587.

In the second of these examples, a young noble lady speaks to a young noble:

"Des espales et des costés, Onques mais ne rechut costez, Bachelers, con rechiveras." *Fabliaux*, III, 129.

In the third of these examples, Rustebeuf is speaking to a young noble:

"Vauvaseur, bachelier plain de grant non savior, Cuidés vos par des pris ne honeur avoir" *Rustebeuf*, I, 165.

¹ The etymology of *bachelers* will be treated by the author in a separate study.

SECTION II.

BAISSELE.

*Baissele*¹ was rarely used as a title in direct address in the texts of the Middle Ages. The early signification of the word was, 'young girl,' a meaning in which it was employed in the Old-French *Pastorals*.² Either because, in accordance with the conditions of culture of the times, the young girls performed the menial household labors, or because there is always a tendency on the part of all persons to associate with the idea of youth the idea of dependence or of servitude, *baissele*, like *meschine*, shifted from signifying 'young girl' to signifying 'maid servant.'³ This shift in meaning took place before the second half of the thirteenth century.

There are but few examples of the employment of *baissele* as a title in direct address. These examples are all found in texts of a date previous to the thirteenth century, and consequently, previous to the time when the word shifted from meaning, 'young girl,' to meaning, 'maid servant.' All the examples of *baissele* used in direct address are found in texts from the North of the territory, and it is probable that the word was peculiar to that locality.⁴

¹ The etymology of this word is unknown. The fact that 90 per cent. of the examples of the word contained in the works consulted for this study are from the North seems to point to a Germanic or northern origin.

² See examples under the use of *baissele* as a title in direct address (*infra*).

³ Et comme bonne basselette Tiegne la chambre de Venus nete. *Rose*, 13538.—Li bourgeois si fut du moustier revenue La bassele appela et elle est accourue. *Dit des Trois Pommés*. (G.).—Se feme et se basciele. *Archives Municipales de Saint Quentin*, l. 30 A. 4 bis. (G.).—Qui clame se bassele putain, se elle est mariee, (il doit) XX jours: se elle est bassele qui ne soit mariee, X jours. *Règlement de la Maladrerie d'Amiens*, from A. Thierry, *Rec. de Mon. inéd. de l'Hist. du tiers état*, I, 326.

⁴ "Tres douce basselete Vos m'occirés se vos volés." *Pastorellen*, III,

CHAPTER IV.

BER AND ITS COMPOUNDS.

SECTION I.

BER.

A. Meaning of *Ber*.

Like the Latin *vir*, *ber* signified: (1) in general, 'a man' as contrasted with 'a woman';¹ (2) in particular, 'a man who possesses those qualities which go to make up the highest type of manhood,'² as opposed to *hom*, the designation for any man.³

11. 23.—"Bele baisselete Dites moi une cosete." *Pastorellen*, III, 23, 29.—
"Douce baisselette Donés le mi, vostre capelet!" *Robin et Marion*, 177
(in all these examples a shepherd is addressing his shepherdess sweet-heart).

¹ Si quis hominem regium tabularium tam baronem quam feminam de mundeburde ecclesie abstulerit. *Lex Ripuaria*, LVIII, 12-13 (ed. Salmon).—Perrexit domnus Karolus in Saxonia ad Holdistede et multis baronis et mulieres inde adduxit. *Annales San Gall. Baluzii ap. Pertz*, Vol. *Scriper*, I, 63 (D. C.).

² This meaning of the Latin *vir* is shown in such derivatives as *virtus*. This meaning of the French *ber* is especially brought out in the word used as an adjective.

İço vus mandet Carlemagnes li ber. *Roland*, 430.—Rollanz li ber le pluret. *Roland*, 2022.—Mout ot ou roi Pepin très gentill home et ber. *Berte*, 3357.—Cist colps est de barun. *Roland*, 1280.

This meaning is also shown in the following examples in which *ber* is used as a title for saints for whom, because of their splendid manliness, the author has the greatest respect and admiration:

Li ber Sainz Giliés pur cui Deus fait vertuz. *Roland*, 2095.—A la riche abbaye du baron Saint Māart. *Saisnes*, VIII.—Au baron St. Pierre. *Berte*, XL.

³ Since *vir* was the word to designate a man who exemplified the highest qualities of manhood, *homo*, the word for man in general, took on pejorative by-notions and was a word of much less honor than *vir*. So

A noble of high rank was *par excellence* supposed to exemplify such a man, who would naturally occupy a high place among the *élite* of the nation.¹ *Ber*, consequently, shifted to mean 'a noble of high rank,'² and became the generic term for the nobles of high position,³ as contrasted with *chevalier*, the designation

French *hom* developed decidedly pejorative by-notions: this will be shown in treating *hom* as a title in direct address (see *infra*).

¹ In the early Middle Ages, the nobility was not a blood caste but was composed simply of the warrior class. A high rank in the nobility depended on the warlike ability of the individual. A man who was a *ber*, who was distinguished by those qualities which go to make up the highest type of manhood, naturally held a high rank in the nobility, was a noble of high rank.

² Cio controverent baron franc. *St. Leger*, 52.—A tous ses grands barons manda en commandant; A tous nobles et riches commanda en mandant. *Girart de Roussillon*, ms., 193.—Li rois tous ses barons y est fait assembler. *Berte*, III.—"He, barnage de Franche, car, me venés aidier." *Fierebras*, 3478.—La guerre des barons (D. C.)—Thibaut fu né de France, un des plus haus barons (D. C.).

³ In its signification, 'a noble of high rank,' *ber* could be a designation for any noble of high rank, a king, a duke, a count, or a viscount. The following are examples of the word used as a title for nobles of these ranks:

"Ahi!" dist il, "reis amirés, Tant mar fustes, gentis ber." *Gormond et Isembart*, 541 (king to king).—"Pour ce nel di je mie, amiraus, gentis ber." *Fierebras*, 2365 (noble to king).—Dist Gloriande: "Amiraus, rices ber." *Ogier*, 2546 (daughter to king).—In the marriage contract between Hugon, duke of Bourgoigne, and Beatrice, sister of Theobald, king of Navarre, Theobald is spoken of as Nobile baron, par le grace de Dieu, roi de Navarre. *Chartul. Camp. ex. Cam. Comput* (D. C.).—Par très noble baron Robert, duc de Bourgoigne. *Chartul. Pontin'ac*, 1292, p. 166 (D. C.).—Nobles bers, Otheo, cuens palatine de Borgogne." *Merc. ap St. Mart*, 1289 (D. C.).—Tex sires qui tenist en baronie, si com quens ou dus ou aucuns grant sires. *J. Laborde, Layettes*, XXI, 26 (ed. Marma).

It is difficult to draw a hard and fast line as to what constituted nobility of high rank and to determine just where a man ceased to be a noble of high rank, a *baron*. *Valets*, *esquires*, *vidames*, *vavaseurs*, and *châtelains*, were not a part of the high nobility of the nation, as also, at a later date, were neither the simple *chevalier* or gentleman. It can be said that, roughly speaking, every noble of a rank higher than that of a *châtelain* was a noble of high rank. This division seems to be borne out by the examples cited under *chevalier*, where the title of a *châtelain* and of a *vavaseur* is always given as *chevalier*, while none of these men are ever spoken of as *baron*.

for the nobility in general and for nobles of low rank in particular.¹

Like the Latin *vir*, *ber* also signified 'husband'² and this meaning, that of 'a noble of high rank,' and, occasionally, that of 'a man, noble by character' are the only ones that the word possessed up to the fourteenth century. This assertion is made with the express intention of directly denying that *ber* ever possessed the other meanings that have been attributed to it by the different dictionaries and lexicographical works that have discussed the signification of the word.³ In the latest work on the subject, for example, M. Guilhaiermoz,⁴ in attempting to determine the names that should be applied to owners of châteaux, says: "Mais le terme qui eut, en France, le plus de succès pour désigner les possesseurs de châteaux, bien qu'au moyen âge ceux-ci ne l'aient jamais porté comme titre de dignité, fut le mot 'baron.'"

M. Guilhaiermoz' reasoning seems to be that, because, in certain Medieval Latin and French works, many *barons* are depicted as owning châteaux, therefore, *baron* signified 'the owner of a château.' Such an inference is unjustifiable.⁵

M. Guilhaiermoz further says: "Il (le mot baron) servait très souvent à désigner les personnages qui composaient un

¹ Although *chevalier* was a general generic term for the nobility, it was used in particular as a term for nobles of low rank in contrast to *baron*, the term for nobles of high rank. For examples which clearly show this distinction, see the chapter on *chevalier*.

² Ele respunt a sun barun. Marie de France, *Fables*, LXXII, 67 (speaking of the husband of a peasant woman).—"Lasse," fait ele, "del baron." *Escoufle*, 2450 (countess speaking of her dead husband).

³ St. Palaye and Du Cange (see General Bibliography) attribute to *baron* the meanings 'a man personally bound to a seigneur,' 'he who has feudal rights over his property,' and 'the eldest son of a seigneur.'

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 156 ff.

⁵ Flach (*Op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 427 ff.) conclusively proves that, in the Early Period, (to which period belong most of the examples quoted by M. Guilhaiermoz), the basis of society was personal and not real, and that the majority of the followers of a king or seigneur, who are designated in these texts as *baron*, owned neither lands nor châteaux.

conseil ou une cour de justice, quelle que fût d'ailleurs leur situation sociale.”¹ In the feudal period, the assembly of the nobles of high rank constituted the general supreme court of the nation and every *baron* was, *per se*, a member of this court. Furthermore, seigneurs recruited the judges of their special courts from among the nobles of high rank.² It is to members of the courts just mentioned that belong the *barons* mentioned in the examples cited by M. Guilhaiermoz in support of his statement quoted above.³ In these examples, however, *baron* did not signify ‘those persons who were members of a council or court of justice, whatever was their social position,’ but signified simply ‘nobles of high rank,’ membership in the council and judgeship being accidental and incidental to nobility of high rank.

It has been said⁴ that, in the early Middle Ages, the foundation of the society of the times was the “personal” and not the “real” bond⁵ and that the nobles were not grouped into a fixed hierarchy in which the rank of the individual depended on the size or nature of the fief or property of which he was the owner. At certain periods, for example, a duke was less powerful than a count while a marquis was more powerful than either. The dissolution of the personal bond in the course of the twelfth century, however, resulted in the regrouping of the nobility upon such a property basis, the rank of the individual in the hierarchy depending on the nature of the territorial unit of which he was the owner. At the head of this hierarchy stood

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 157.

² See Flach, *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 219 ff.

³ The following are a few of these examples:

Multi de baronibus meis qui ejusdem corte compositioni adfuerant. Billiet et Albrieux, *Chartes de Maurienne*, p. 44.—Baudouin, comte de Flandre, says: Consilio baronum meorum accepto. Van Drival, *Cartul. de Saint Vaast d'Arras*, p. 180.—Eis querentibus curiam baronum Salmuri castri. Marchegay, *Archives d'Anjou*, I, pp. 37, no. 32.

⁴ See *supra*, p. 5.

⁵ For explanation of these terms, see *supra*, p. 5.

the king, followed in order by the duke, the count, and the viscount, as owners of a duchy, a county, or a viscounty. It has been said ¹ that the generic name for a certain class or group of men of which the members are subdivided into different ranks and grades, tends to become used as a designation for members of the lowest rank only. *Ber*, consequently, came to be used only as a designation for the lowest rank of those members of the nobility who could still come under the category of nobles of high rank. In the nobility as divided on a property basis, therefore, a *ber* was 'a man who, in the noble hierarchy, occupies a rank higher than that of a *châtelain*, a *chevalier*, or a noble of low rank, but lower than that of a viscount or count.'²

The date of this shift in meaning is doubtful. There are occasional traces of it in thirteenth century texts,³ but the presence in works of the fourteenth century of examples of *ber* in the meaning, 'noble of high rank,'⁴ and, 'husband,'⁵ shows that it was not complete at that period. It was the predominant meaning by the second half of the fourteenth century.⁶

¹ See chapter on *chevaliers*.

² See examples given under *infra*, notes (3) and (6).

³ A list of the vassals of Philippe Auguste shows that they were grouped into the following divisions:

Comites et duces, barones, castellani, vavassores, . . . Delisle, *Premier registre de Philippe Auguste*, fo. 6vo—Reges vero habent regna ab imperatore, et principes et comites ab rege, barones a comitibus, milites a barones. Jean Blanqui, *Epitome feudorum*, 1, 2 (*Tractato universi juris*, p. 264).

⁴ "Armez vous errament, chevalier et baron." *H. Capet*, 1860 (king to his nobles; here *baron* signifies nobles of high rank as opposed to *chevalier*, the designation for nobles of low rank).—"Or vous traîés en cha, chevalier et baron." *Bast. de Bouillon*, 655 (nobles to nobles of high rank).

⁵ "Dame," dist li bastars, "parles a vo baron." *Bast. de Bouillon*, 5915 (noble speaking to woman of her husband).

⁶ Nous parlerons premierement ici ausdites baronesses dont y a en France, en Bretagne et autre part, qui passeront en honneur et puissance moult de comtesses, quoique le nom de baron ne soit si haut que de comte. Christine de Pisan, *Trésor de la Cité des Dames*, Part II, Chap. IX. (D. C.).—Duc est la premiere dignité, et puis contes, et puis vicontes et puis baron, et puis chastelain, et puis vavasor. *Livre de justice et de plet*, I, 15 (ed. Rapetti, 67).

B. *Ber* used as a Title in Direct Address.

Ber was used as a title in direct address only in the meaning, 'a noble of high rank.'¹ It seems, moreover, to have been a title employed only for the warriors of the *Chansons de Geste* and of those works which more accurately represent the rough conditions without culture that actually existed at an early period of the Middle Ages:² there is not an example of the word in the *Romances of Chivalry*, or in any work impregnated by either the *courtois* or *chivalric* ideal. It seems to have been a title of great honor and to have still carried with it the by-notations of bravery and prowess that are designated by *ber*, used as an adjective. It is first found in the *Roland* and continues to be employed as a title in direct address in texts of all periods and from all sections of France covered by this study.

In texts of the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, and from all sections of France except the East, *ber* is used by seigneurs as a title in direct address for their nobles of high rank.³

¹ In this meaning, it was used as a title for all those nobles who were of a rank higher than that of a *châtelain*. It was, moreover, used in the plural chiefly as a generic term for nobles of high rank, as opposed to *chevalier*, which, while being a generic term for all the nobility, was particularly employed as a title for nobles of low rank. This meaning is clearly brought out in the following examples:

"Armez vous errament, chevalier et baron." *H. Capet*, 1860 (king to his nobles).—"Or vous trâliés en cha, chevalier et baron." *Bast. de Bouillon*, 655 (author to nobles).

² *Ber* is used in the following texts: *Roland*, *Prise d'Orange*, *Coronnement Louis*, *Charroi de Nîmes*, *Thebes*, *Aliscans*, *Fierebras*, *Elie de St. Gille*, *Ogier*, *Aimeri de Narbonne*, *Raoul de Cambrai*, *Huon de Bordeaux*, *Rose*, and *Maugis d'Aigremont*. The only texts that are not *Chansons de Geste* in which *ber* is employed as a title in direct address are the *Rose* and the *Thebes*.

³ "Dites, baron, por deu, s'i m'aidereiz!" *Roland*, 3557 (emperor to nobles).—"Ferez, baron, sur la gent chrestiene." *Roland*, 3392 (Emir Baligant to his nobles).—"Monjoie," escrie, "fez avant, baron." *Prise d'Orange*, 824 (count to his nobles).—"Baron," ce dist li rois, "qui porrai envoier?" *Fierebras*, 5433 (emperor to his nobles).—"Baron, s'en faites

In works of the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from all sections of France except the East, *ber* is employed by nobles of all ranks as a title for nobles of high rank.¹

In works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from the North and Center, *ber* is used by bourgeois as a title for nobles of high rank.²

In works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from the Center, *ber* is employed by the clergy as a title for nobles of high rank.³

vostre esgart." *Renart*, XXIII, 331 (king to his noble followers).—"Baron," dist Kalles, "alés vous adouber." *Ogier*, 2216 (emperor to his nobles).—"Baron," dist il, "or soiez bien armé." *Aimeri de Narbonne*, 846 (count to his nobles).—"Oiés," fait Matabrune, "damoisel et baron." *Chev. au Cygne*, 2350 (queen to nobles).—"Barons, entendés ma sentence." *Rose*, 11772 (seigneur to his nobles).—"Baron," dit ly traytrez, "je vous en rens mercis." *H. Capet*, 543 (count to his nobles).—Charles dit a ses homes: "Baron, je vos comant." *Maugis d'Aigremont*, 5815 (emperor to his nobles). See also *Prise d'Orange*, 1484;—*Aliscans*, 4950;—*Huon de Bordeaux*, 82;—*H. Capet*, 1860.

¹ Dient Franceis: "Bons ber, tant mar i fus." *Roland*, 1561 (French nobles at Ronceval bemoaning the fate of their comrade).—"Por amor deu, car m'entendez, baron!" *Roland*, 3768 (Guenelon to nobles who are trying him for treason).—"Ber, ne m'oci, se tu Guillaumes ies." *Charroi de Nîmes*, 250 (noble to noble who has conquered him).—"Baron, ne dotez mie!" *Pape Gregoire*, 64 (noble to his fellow nobles, men of high rank).—"Ber, car te trai vers nous, si serons plus cremu." *Elie de St. Gille*, 739 (noble to his fellow noble, of high rank).—"Mais or me dites, Geriaumes, gentis ber." *Huon de Bordeaux*, 3148 (noble to noble, his equal in rank).—Si leur a dit en hault: "Bien viegnez vous, barons." *H. Capet*, 3200 (noble to nobles of high rank).—"Baron, sire Butor, et qu'alez vos pensant?" *Brun. de la Mont.*, 506 (noble to noble of high rank).—See also *Roland*, 1863;—*Ogier*, 1769;—*Thebes*, 1591;—*Fierebras*, 3486;—*Raoul de Cambrai*, 866.

² "Sire Guillaumes, gentix nobles et ber." *Aliscans*, 2513 (bourgeois to count).—"As armes, vistement, escuier et baron!" *Maugis d'Aigremont*, 4662 (bourgeois to noble of high rank).

³ "Sire Guillaume," dit l'apostoiles, "ber." *Coronnement Louis*, 1407 (Pope to Count William of Orange).—"Baron," dist il, "a moi en entendez!" *Coronnement Louis*, 53 (priest to nobles of high rank).—"Arés, por Dieu, barons, arés." *Rose*, 20633 (priest to nobles of the king's army).

In texts of the twelfth century from the North and Center, *ber* is used by conquered nobles as a title of respect by which they address their conquerors.¹

In the texts of the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, *ber* is used by authors as a title for their noble audiences.²

SECTION II.

COMPOUNDS OF BER.

1. *Seigneur Baron.*

The most important compound of *ber* is *seigneur baron* found in texts of all periods and from all sections of the territory covered by this study.³ Like *ber*, it was used by kings,⁴ nobles,⁵

¹ "Ber, ne m'oci, se tu Guillaumes iés!" *Charroi de Nîmes*, 250 (conquered noble to his conqueror, a noble of high rank).—"Ber, ja m'as tu conquis au branc de ton acier." *Fierebras*, 60 (conquered noble to his conqueror, a noble of high rank).

² "Or vous trâiés en ça, chevalier et baron." *Bast. de Bouillon*, 655 (author to his noble readers).—"Oïés, baron, benëie vos Des." *Ogier*, 27 (author to noble audience).

³ See *supra*, pp. 18 ff.

⁴ "Seignor baron, je vos aim, si vos crei." *Roland*, 3406 (Emperor Charles to his nobles of high rank).—"Seignor baron, entendez mon langage!" *Coronnement Louis*, 2399 (emperor to his nobles of high rank).—"Signor baron, sans demorer." *Flore et Blanchefleur*, 978 (king to his nobles of high rank).—"Seignor baron," dit l'enperere. *Renart*, XI, 3359 (emperor to nobles).—"Signor baron," che dist li roi. *Sept Sages*, 942 (king to his nobles of high rank).—"Seignor baron, vos qui m'avez servi." *Aimeri de Narbonne*, 596 (emperor to nobles of high rank).—"Segnor baron," fait il, "savés moi consellier." *Naiss. de Chev. au Cygne*, 1096 (king to nobles of high rank).—"Seigneur baron, acourés tost!" *Jus de St. Nicolas*, 463 (king to nobles of high rank).—Lors lor a dit: "Seignor baron." *Floriant et Florette*, 4588 (emperor to his nobles of high rank).—"Seigneur baron," fet il, "se Dex me benëie." *Maugis d'Aigremont*, 1368 (king to nobles of high rank).—See also *Fierebras*, 4449;—*Raoul de Cambrai*, 3912;—*Amis et Amiles*, 1887;—*Bast. de Bouillon*, 3568.

⁵ "Seignor barun, el camp vos retenez!" *Roland*, 1176 (Oliver to French nobles at Ronceval).—"Seignor baron, por Deu le roi celeste." *Coronnement Louis*, 2159 (noble to noble of high rank).—"Signor baron," dist

priests,¹ and bourgeois² as a title for nobles of high rank.

2. *Franc Baron.*

In texts of the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, from the North and Center, *franc baron* was used by seigneurs, nobles and bourgeois³ as a title for nobles of high rank.⁴

3. *Miscellaneous Compounds of Ber.*

The following compounds of *ber* occur so rarely in the texts consulted for this study that any discussion of their use beyond the mere cataloguing of their existence is impossible. They never occur in more than one example in the works in question.

Nobile baron.

S'escrient hautement: "Hay! nobile baron." *H. Capet*, 2252 (nobles to duke).

Ogier, "entendés." *Ogier*, 900 (noble to nobles of high rank).—"Segnor baron, por Diu qui ne menti." *Huon de Bordeaux*, 2183 (noble to nobles of high rank).—"Segnor baron," dit il, "envers moi entendez!" *Maugis d'Aigremont*, 3173 (noble to nobles of high rank).

¹ "Seignor baron," dist l'apostoiles saiges. *Coronnement Louis*, 428 (Pope to nobles of high rank).

² "Singnor baron," dient li püisant. *Raoul de Cambrai*, 8394 (peasant to nobles of high rank).—"Seignor baron, nel me celez vos mie!" *Amis et Amiles*, 3346 (innkeeper to nobles of high rank).—"Faites nous bien, seignor baron." *Garçon et Aveugle*, 1 (blind beggar to nobles of high rank).

³ There are, however, but five examples of *franc baron* found in the works consulted for this study, showing that, while continuously and widely employed, its use was a comparatively rare one. See chapter on *frans hom.*

⁴ "Or öez ore, franc baron nature." *Prise d'Orange*, 772 (author to noble audience).—"Escoutés moi, franc baron." *Aucassin et Nicolette*, 39, 14 (author, or *jongleur*, to noble hearers).—Et leur dist: "Frans barons, je vous prie merci." *H. Capet*, 719 (queen to nobles of high rank).—"Segnor," ce dit Maugis, "Franc nobile baron." *Maugis d'Aigremont*, 4028 (noble to nobles of high rank).

Frans baron naturel.¹

"Seignor, or entendés, franc baron naturel." *Chev. au Cygne*, 3636 (author to noble auditors).

SECTION III.

FILS A BARON.

It has always been a favorite method of conveying honor to a man to infer that he comes of good family, and this was especially true in the Middle Ages. Therefore, such titles as *filz a emperere*, *filz a chevalier*, etc., are frequently met with in the Old-French texts.

In works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from all sections of France, *filz a baron* was employed by nobles as a title of great honor for nobles of all ranks.² There are no examples in the works of the fourteenth century consulted for this study.

¹ See remarks on *frans hom naturel* (*infra*).

² "Filz a baron, car me venez aidier!" *Coronnement Louis*, 2308 (king to noble).—"Filz a baron, garde ne t'esmaier!" *Ibid.*, 1715 (abbot to king).—"Estez," fait il, "fil a baron." *Thebes*, 1728 (seigneur to noble of high rank).—"Or del bien faire, gentil fil a baron." *Aliscans*, 5592 (seigneur to nobles).—"Gentils filz a baron, com vous est convenant!" *Fierebras*, 4802 (emperor to his nobles).—"Gentieus fieus a baron, de coi avés doutanche?" *Elie de St. Gille*, 1832 (esquire to noble master).—"Mar vos vëimes, gentis fiz a baron." *Aimeri de Narbonne*, 3142 (noble to noble of high rank).—"Sire, car vos armez, jentieux flex a baron." *Chev. au Cygne*, 4555 (valet to noble of high rank).—"Fieuls de baron, voz le refuserez." *Amis et Amiles*, 1067 (noble to noble of high rank).

CHAPTER V.

CHAITIS AND *CHAITIVE*.

SECTION I.

CHAITIS.

In the earliest Old-French, *chaitis* signified 'prisoner.'¹ In the Middle Ages, prisoners were subjected to frightful indignities and sufferings and their lot was a most unfortunate and miserable one. Consequently, before the eleventh century, *chaitis* shifted to mean 'an unfortunate or miserable man.'² There has always been a tendency to associate moral depravity with the idea of misfortune, and words signifying 'unfortunate' have often shifted to signify 'bad.'³ Therefore, *chaitis* shifted, before the twelfth century, from meaning 'a miserable or unfortunate man' to signifying 'a bad man,' 'a scoundrel.'⁴ In the twelfth century, *chaitis* was employed in the three meanings, 'prisoner,' 'unfortunate man,' and 'scoundrel.' In the thirteenth century, *chaitis* ceased to be used in the meaning 'prisoner,' while the meaning 'scoundrel' tended to replace the meaning 'a miserable man.'

Chaitis was employed as a title in direct address in the meanings 'an unfortunate man,' and 'scoundrel' only. While *chaitis* in the meaning 'an unfortunate man' was occasionally used

¹"En ma curt ad une caitive franche." *Roland*, 3978.—Quar mains chetis dolans et irascuz En fu le jor fors de prison issu. *Coronnement Louis*, 1235.

²Trait ses chevaux, si se claimet caitive. *Roland*, 2596.—Et XXXM. de chetis prisonniers. *Coronnement Louis*, 356.

³*Mescheant*, *frarin*, *malotru*, are examples of words signifying 'unfortunate' that shifted to mean 'bad.'

⁴"Cil chetis la qui si c'enivre." *Fabliaux*, VI, 127 (noble speaking of a monk, a scoundrel).

by men as a term of sympathy for their fellows in misfortune,¹ it was chiefly employed by persons in trouble as a term of self-pity equivalent to *las*.² In this use, *chaitis*, like *las*, tended to become a mere exclamation of self-pity. In texts of all periods and from all sections of France, *chaitis* was employed by kings, nobles, priests and bourgeois as a term of self-pity.³

In texts of the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from all sections of the territory, *chaitis* in the meaning 'scoundrel' was employed by kings, nobles, bourgeois, and priests as an opprobrious epithet for all persons whom the speaker desired to abuse and insult.⁴

¹ "Que avez vox chetif malëuree?" *Aimeri de Narbonne*, 3540 (king to two of his nobles who have been defeated).—Ains lur disoit: "Quetis, malëureus et las." *Bast. de Bouillon*, 1142 (noble to unfortunate townspeople).

² See chapter on *las*.

³ "A tart se clamera chaitis, Quant les verra morz e ocis." *Troie*, 4904 (Cassandra speaking of father).—"Alas, caitis," dist il, "que ferons?" *Flore et Blanchefleur*, 980 (king in misfortune to himself).—Et dist a soi mēismes: "Caitis, que deverrés?" *Fierebras*, 4443 (emperor in misfortune to himself).—"Las! moi chetiz," fet li vilains. *Fabliaux*, III, 158 (peasant in misfortune to self).—"Allas! chaitif, tant mal vi unches l'ore." *Adamspiel*, 518 (Adam in misfortune to himself).—"Las, las! chetis, tant ai pechié." *Gautier de Coincy*, 18 (repentant priest to himself).—"Las, chetis, et je sui es laz." *Miracle de St. Theophile*, 34 (repentant priest to himself).—"Ahi!" font il, "caitif dolant." *Escoufle*, 188 (bourgeois in misfortune to himself).—"Las! caitis! or ne sai que monte." *Fabliaux*, II, 83 (Priest in misfortune to himself).—Et disoit "Chaitis, que me caut?" *Jehan et Blonde*, 2555 (noble in misfortune to himself).

⁴ "Ohi, vos, las, chaitif, dites mei, ke kremeiz?" *St. Thomas*, 1184 (author to cowardly priests).—"Vi, chetis, laz, pour coi fuis tu?" *Renart*, XVII, 1108 (noble to cowardly noble).—"Fors vus, k'estes un teu cheitifs." *Petit Plet*, 1505 (wife to husband with whom she is angry).—"Chetiz, bien as gardé la coute." *Fabliaux*, I, 242 (priest to *vilain* whom he is insulting).—"Caitis, qu'i feras tu?" *Jus Adam*, 12 (clerc to clerik with whom he is angry).—"Ahi, chetis recreanz." *Pastorellen*, II, 75, 15 (shepherdess to noble lover with whom she is angry).—"Ahi, chetis," dist il, "qu'en vous a de chembiaus." *Bast. de Bouillon*, 1477 (king to Saracen king whom he is about to attack).

SECTION II.

CHAITIVE.

In works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from all sections of France, *chaitive* in the meaning 'an unfortunate woman' was employed by queens, noble ladies, and bourgeois women as a title of self-pity, almost equivalent to *lasse*.¹

In texts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from the West and North, *chaitive* in the meaning, 'you bad woman,' was used by nobles as a term of reproach or blame for their wives.²

¹ Suspire e dit: "Lasse, caitive." *Tristan de Thomas*, 1349 (queen in trouble to herself).—"Plorent et claiment sei chaitives." *Thebes*, 9793 (ladies in misfortune to themselves).—"Deus, que ferai, lasse, caitive?" *Erec*, 4345 (girl in trouble to herself).—"Lasse, dolente, chetive, que ferai?" *Aliscans*, 1745 (countess in trouble to herself).—"Ha, chaitive, malöuree." *Renart*, XI, 1399 (noble lady in trouble to herself).—"Or m'est il mal, lasse, chetive." *Fabliaux*, IV, 1213 (peasant woman in trouble to herself).—Et disoit: "Ha, lasse, chaitive." *Chev. aux Deux Espées*, 7382 (noble woman in misfortune to herself).—Et se clame, lasse, chaitive. *Fabliaux*, IV, 73 (noble lady in trouble to herself).—"XXX sols, dolente, chaitive." *Fabliaux*, V, 20 (seamstress in trouble to herself).—"Caitive, dolante, serai." *Sone de Noisey*, 2494 (noble girl in trouble to herself).

² "Par ton conseil, folle chetive." *Renart*, IX, 1764 (noble to wife with whom he is angry).—"Chetive en tote mauvaaise oeuvre." *Escoufle*, 941 (noble to woman with whom he is angry).

CHAPTER VI.

CHEVALIERS.

SECTION I.

NATURE OF THE CHEVALIERS AND OF LA CHEVALERIE.

The current conceptions as to the nature of chivalry and of the *chevaliers* in the Middle Ages are summed up by the definitions in the *Dictionnaire Général*. *La chevalerie* is defined as an 'institution [ordre] ¹ militaire d'un caractère religieux et héroïque, établie dans la noblesse féodale, et imposant à ceux qu'on y admettait le mépris du danger, la loyauté, la protection des faibles et la courtoisie envers les dames': *le chevalier* is defined as 'au moyen âge, celui qui avait reçu l'ordre de la chevalerie.'

These definitions are based upon the many works on the subject that have appeared during the last half-century,² but the authors of these works have founded their theories as to the nature of chivalry on an error, so that the contemporary conceptions of that institution are inexact. Since a correct idea of *chevalerie* is essential to a proper understanding of the use of *chevaliers* as a title in direct address, some false notions regarding it must first be removed.

A somewhat extended examination of Old-French texts and *Cartulaires*, and of certain modern legal and historical works,³

¹ The definition of *chevalier* in the *Dictionnaire Général* shows that *la chevalerie* is considered a military order.

² The most important of these works is *La Chevalerie* of Léon Gautier, Paris, 1884.

³ The most important of these works are those of Fustel de Coulanges, Flach, and Guilhaumez (see General Bibliography). To the latter especially, I am indebted for many ideas and details. See *supra*, p. 1, note 1.

has led the author of this monograph to the conclusion that, in the early Middle Ages, *chevaliers* signified simply 'an armed horseman.' A horse was as essential a part of the full equipment of a medieval warrior as were his spear, sword, shield, and armor, and if he were deprived of any one of these, he was considered unarmed.¹

Since *chevaliers* signified 'an armed man' and since *la chevalerie* was the term for the sum total of the *chevaliers*, it is requisite, in order to arrive at a proper conception of that institution, to determine who were the armed men of the community. It was an inherent principle among the Franks that only the adult freemen or nobles of the state should bear arms.² During the early period of French history, this principle was strictly observed, and the peasants, bourgeois, and non-freemen of all classes were denied this privilege.³ At a later period, on account of the change that took place in the style of warfare by reason of which the foot soldier became of great importance, the members of the lower classes were also permitted⁴ to have some arms. However, in accordance with the above-mentioned principle, the fiction was invented that these members of the lower classes were unarmed because they did not carry the full equipment. Since the freemen (*i. e.* the warrior classes, the nobles) were alone allowed this full equipment, were alone considered armed men, *chevaliers* shifted from signifying 'an armed man' to signify 'a member of the warrior class,' 'a noble,' and *la chevalerie*, the designation for the sum total of these armed men, became the generic term for the warrior classes, for the nobility as contrasted with the clergy and the *tiers état*.⁵

¹ See Guilhaume, *op. cit.*, pp. 380 ff.

² See *infra*.

³ See Guilhaume, *op. cit.*, pp. 380, 391, ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Chevaliers ne bourgeois, vilains ne p̄sant. Berte, CVII.*—Prelat, clerc, chevalier, bourgeois. *Rustebeuf*, I, 137.—"Saint Sepulchre, or avant, chevalier et bourgeois!" *Bast de Bouillon*, 1997.—"Par Dieu, entendés moi, chevalier et bourgeois!" *H. Capet*, 3069.

Li clerc deivent por toz orer; Li chevalier sanz demorer Doivent defendre et ennorer Et li p̄sant laburer, Terres arer, norir aumaille, Sor le vilain

Comparing what has just been said concerning the nature of chivalry with the definition of that institution given by the *Dictionnaire Général*, it may be said that:

I. Chivalry was not "a military order" into which men of noble birth were admitted, but was the generic name for the entire warrior class, the nobility.¹

II. Chivalry was not "of a religious character."

III. Chivalry was not "an order established in the feudal nobility" but *was* the feudal nobility.

IV. Chivalry did not impose "on those who were admitted to it contempt of danger, loyalty, protection of the weak and courtesy towards women." Such texts of the period as *Girart de Roussillon*, *Raoul de Cambrai*, or *Ogier*, show that, in the Early Period, the last two qualities at least were far from being characteristic of the majority of the *chevaliers* of the times. The heroes of these *Chansons de Geste* are violent men whom nothing restrains in their savage desires and in their brutal ferocity. With no regard for the weak, and with no religious fear, they kill without mercy and ravish without scruple.

est la bataille, Quar chevalier et clerc sanz faille Vivent de ce que il trovaille." Étienne de Fougères, *Livre de Manières*, 673 (ed. Kremer).

Ben vus sai dire queus ce sunt Qui doivent gouverner le mond; Li clers qui les corunes unt; Après les clers sunt chevalers Pur garder terres et musters, Puis establi le vilain Pur gäanier as altres pain. *Poem of the beginning of the thirteenth century*, 7 (G).

The philosophers say that there are three sorts of people: Clers, chevaliers, ouvriers de terre, Li gäaignors doivent enquerre Les autres II lor estovoir De ce qui lor convient avoir. *Gautier de Metz, Image du Monde*, *Bibl. Nat.*, ms. fr. 1822, fo. 1490 (G).

The *Glose of the Grand Coutumier de Normandie* says: Par la division des trois estatatz, l'estat des noblez est appelé l'estat de chevallerye. *Bibl. Nat.*, ms. fr. 2765, fo. 45 (G).

In an act of Parliament of the year 1285, it is decreed that a man could alone be considered a noble who was the son of a "*dame et chevalier*," which signified "of noble parents." (D. C.)

¹ It is possible that, at a later period, the nobles imagined themselves as belonging to some such order as that described in the *Dictionnaire Général*. Any such order was, however, a purely fictitious one, existing only in the imaginations of the nobles themselves and not forming a part of the actual social structure of the times.

In the work just mentioned, there are many instances where Girart slaughters unarmed men, and, upon one occasion, he burns alive an entire convent of nuns.

In the *Chanson de Roland*, the qualities exalted are bravery, family honor, and fidelity to king and *compagnon*, and nowhere is there any mention of protection of the weak or of courtesy toward women. Society seems to have been founded on

"The simple way, the good old plan,
Let him take who has the power,
And let him keep who can."

Thus, women are disputed and ravished as the legitimate prey of the most valiant, and if a *chevaliers* takes up their defence it is for no other reason than to win them for himself. The women know this and seem to be resigned to it, as is shown in the case of a young girl whom Ogier rescues from the hands of the Saracens and who says to her deliverer:

*Conquis m'avés, or sui en vo comant,
Si porrés faire de moi tot vo talent,¹*

It was only at a later period, and on account of the development of the "*courtois*" ideal,² that these qualities of the protection of the weak and courtesy toward women, certainly not possessed by the early warriors, were held to be, theoretically at least, the common attributes of all members of the noble classes of society.

The erroneous views of modern authors concerning chivalry as summed up in the definition of the *Dictionnaire Général* probably owe their origin to the theories of the Christian Church of the Middle Ages. Because of her inability to check war, the church, in the eleventh century or earlier, tried to Christianize the warrior. With a view to doing this, she created the conception of the Christian soldier, a man who was always honorable

¹ *Ogier*, 2364.

² See *supra*, p. 37, note 1.

and brave, who raised up the weak and smote down the haughty, who was gentle and true and devout, and who passed his time righting the wrongs of downtrodden humanity.¹ With her love of organization, she grouped these ideal warriors into a military-religious order modelled on some of her own.² In this order, she included all members of the warrior class of the nation (the nobility), and to this order she gave the name for their class, *la chevalerie*.

There is nothing to show that these theories of the Church were ever put into actual effect, and that this grouping of the nobles of the nation into a military order was anything more than a fiction. This fiction was, however, widely propagated at a time just previous to the 'Romantic revival' that swept through French literature about the middle of the twelfth century, and it especially appealed to the imaginations of the authors of that movement. Seizing upon the conception of the brotherly grouping of all Christian nobles, they enlarged upon this idea and developed this informal brotherhood into a formal and complex order, with fixed ceremonies and regulations, that culminated in the system of the Knights of the Round Table. It is almost superfluous to add that the reconstructions of these modern authors who have based their conceptions of the actual nature of chivalry on these Old-French texts are of no more value than would be a restoration of the Court of King Arthur based on Tennyson's *Idyls of the King*.

If chivalry, however, is to be considered as simply the term for the nobility, how can we explain the *adoubement*, a ceremony by virtue of which a young man was supposed to be admitted into a military order of knighthood.

It has been said³ that it was a fundamental principle among the Frankish peoples that the warrior class (the nobility) should

¹ The Crusades aided this conception of the Christian soldier.

² Such as the Knights Templar and other religious-military orders.

³ See *supra*, p. 79.

alone bear arms.¹ All men of noble birth² were, *per se*, entitled to this privilege and, after a period of apprenticeship as *valez* or *escuiers*, were granted weapons between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one years.³ The bearing of arms was consequently the symbol of nobility and citizenship, and the granting of arms was the act by which the recipient was admitted into the ranks of the warrior class (the nobility) and to those privileges attendant upon full membership in the state. Among the Germans, the granting of arms and citizenship was a very solemn and formal ceremony, performed by the king or by some seigneur of high rank in the assembly of the warriors or nobles of the nation among whom the recipient was to take his place. *Adoubement* was the name given to this ceremony.⁴

¹ This custom persisted, in theory at least, down into the later Middle Ages.

² The warriors or nobles were the only persons who had full citizenship and its attendant privileges. See Guilhiermoz, *op. cit.*, pp. 350 ff.

³ In the early period, noble birth was not a *sine qua non* of the right to citizenship and there are frequent examples in the texts of the Middle Ages where a man of the lower classes has won his way into the warrior classes or the nobility. See Guilhiermoz, *op. cit.*, pp. 460 ff.

The exact year at which a noble youth reached his majority has given rise to much speculation. It is variously estimated as being as early as the eighteenth, or as late as the twenty-first year.

⁴ The juristic importance of the *adoubement* was great. Before its performance, a man was considered a minor, was incapable of any juristic act, and was not legally recognized as existing.

Hic itaque Heinricus, cum ad militares annos pervenisset et sue voluntatis compos fierit. *Hist. Welforum Weingartensis*, C. 4 (in *Weiland, Monumenta Welforum antiqua*, p. 15).—Tetbaldus, filius nobilissimi comites Stephani, eo ipso anno quo arma recepit concessit. *Matib. Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Dunois*, p. 71, no. 78. These examples and others of a similar nature are quoted by Guilhiermoz, *op. cit.*, 396.

The Old-French *adoub* signified 'a military equipment,' or 'arms,' as is shown by the following examples of the word: *Cuntre soleil reluissent cil adoub. Roland*, 1808.—*As adoz le connurent qi molt estoient chier. Chanson des Saisnes*, CCVI (Michel).—*De mes adous me varai aprester, et si vaurai sor mon cheval monter. Huon de Bordeaux*, 7632.—*De chevaliers a grant maisnié de vallés et de damoisiaus qui servoient pour adous nouveiaus. Amadas et Ydoine*, 375 (Hippeau).

The Old-French expression *prendre ses adous* signified 'to take arms,' 'to

Because of the state of anarchy that prevailed in France up to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, all owners of lands or property were forced to ally themselves in armed defence of their common interests. Therefore, as in the majority of primitive communities, all members of the ruling classes (the nobility) were warriors (*chevaliers*), and *la chevalerie* was equivalent to *la noblesse*. In the course of the twelfth and of succeeding centuries, the growth of the royal power in France established peace and justice in the community and it was no longer imperative for the protection of their interests that all nobles should be warriors. To avoid the heavy expense of such an equipment,¹ many members of the ruling classes of society no longer became armed horsemen; *chevaliers* was, therefore, no longer the equivalent of 'a noble,' but designated 'the owner of landed property sufficient to permit the luxury of a full equipment,'² and his property, on this account, was called a *fief à chevalier*.

be armed a chevalier,' as is shown by the following examples: A ces paroles es vus Collet venir Et vint de France, de Cologne sor Rin: Novelement i ot ses adous pris. *Ogier*, 969.—Tot fil as contes et as barons de pris, qui lor adous ont novelement pris. *Ogier*, 7413.

The Old-French *adoubier* signified 'to equip,' 'to grant arms,' as is shown by the following examples: "Baron," dist Kalles, "alés vous adober!" *Ogier*, 2216.—Païen descendent pur lur cors aduber. *Roland*, 3139.—"Courés vous adoubier, nobile chevalier." *Elie de St. Gille*, 628.—Païen s'adubent d'asbercs saragineis. *Roland*, 993.—"Maitre," ce dit Hugues, "por Deu, quar m'adobez!" "Sire," dit Clarembaus, "volantiers et de gré; mais je cuit la reproche vos seroit reprové que vous aiés pris armes d'un viellart rasoté." *Parise la Duchesse*, 1855 (ed. Guessard).

¹ Only men with an income of one hundred *livres* could afford to equip themselves as *chevaliers*. For discussion of this point, see Guilhaume, *op. cit.*, pp. 225, ff.

² The owner of this fief, the *chevaliers*, owed to the king in time of war a fixed number of days of service as an armed horseman:

Messire Thomas de Bruillie, chevalier, advoua tenir du roi nostre seigneur un fief ou membre de fief à chevalier. *Arch. Nat. P.*, 289, No. 12 (G).—Tient un fief de chevalier et doit quarente jours de servize en l'ost. *Arch. Nat., P.*, 277, No. 1 (1400 A. D.) (G).

Since only a portion of the nobles were able to be *chevaliers* there was no further need, as had been the case formerly, of occasionally recruiting them

In the early Middle Ages, the foundation of the society of the times was the "personal" and not the "real" bond,¹ and the nobles were not grouped into a fixed hierarchy in which the rank of the individual depended upon the size and nature of his fief or property. The dissolution of this personal bond in the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, however, resulted in the grouping of the nobility upon such a property basis, the rank of the individual in the hierarchy depending upon the nature of the territorial unit of which he was the owner. The chief grades in this hierarchy were those of king, duke, count, viscount, baron, chevalier, and esquire, and were held by those who were the possessors of a kingdom, a duchy, a county, a viscounty, a barony, or a *fief à chevalier*; all those individuals who owned fiefs smaller than the *fief à chevalier* were classed as esquires or simple gentlemen.² The *chevaliers*, therefore, as owner of a *fief à chevalier*, occupied a rank among the nobles higher than that of the esquire or simple gentleman, but lower than that of the *baron*.³ Because of this shift in the meaning of *chevaliers*, *la chevalerie*, except as a tradition, ceased to be the designation for the nobility.

The date of this shift of *chevaliers* from meaning 'a noble' to

from among the lower classes of society; hence it became a fixed law, consecrated by legislation, that only nobles should be *chevaliers*.

C'est coutume ou royaume de France que cil qui sont gentilhomme de par le pere pueent estre chevalier. Beaumanoir, *Coutumes de Beauvaisis*, XLV (ed. Salmon, II, p. 234).

¹ See *supra*, p. 5.

² Between the grades of *baron* and *chevaliers* were often placed the *châtelain* and the *vavasseur*. These titles were, however, but temporary, bestowed because of a duty that the bearer of the title was performing (the guarding of a *château* or *vavaseurie*) and was not a permanent title like *chevaliers* or *baron*. Therefore, a man could be, at the same time, a *châtelain* and a *chevaliers*.

³ For examples see *supra*, p. 69. At a later period, the titles, count, baron, etc., became merely hereditary titles of honor, and were held entirely independently of the possession of any corresponding territorial division. A man who was penniless could, in this later period, be a count or baron.

meaning 'a man who, in the noble hierarchy, occupies a rank higher than that of the esquire or simple gentleman but lower than that of the baron' is doubtful. It is certain, however, that it did not occur before the second half of the fourteenth century, both because there are no examples of any such employment in texts previous to that date and also because *chevaliers* was employed in fourteenth-century works as a title in direct address for members of the nobility of all ranks, for kings, dukes, counts, and barons.¹ If *chevaliers* had shifted, before the first half of the fourteenth century, to mean 'a man who, in the noble hierarchy, occupies a rank higher than that of the simple gentleman but lower than that of the baron,' it would never have been thus used as a title for kings and other nobles of high rank. It may, therefore, be concluded that, until after the first half of the fourteenth century, *chevaliers* continued to be the designation for 'any noble' and '*la chevalerie*' the generic designation for the nobility.

SECTION II.

USE OF CHEVALIERS AND ITS COMPOUNDS AS A TITLE IN DIRECT ADDRESS.

1. *Chevaliers.*

In the texts consulted for this study, *chevaliers* and its compounds are used as titles in direct address in the sole meaning 'a noble,' 'a gentleman.'² Since all members of the nobility, whatever their rank in the noble hierarchy, were included in *la chevalerie*,³ *chevaliers* and its compounds were em-

¹ For examples, see *infra* under use of word as title in direct address.

² There is not a single example of *chevaliers* used in the meaning, 'a man who, in the noble hierarchy, occupies a rank higher than that of the simple gentleman but lower than that of the baron.' Such a meaning, however, must have existed for, in the first half of the fourteenth century, not every noble was 'an armed horseman.' The earlier signification, 'a noble,' was still, however, the paramount one.

³ The generic name for the nobility in the society of the times.

ployed as titles in direct address for all these members, for kings, dukes, counts and barons, as well as for *vavaseurs*, *châtelains*, and simple gentlemen.¹

While the generic term for the members of a special class in society is frequently applied as a title to two or more of these members, there is a tendency in the higher social circles to avoid such a term as a title of respect for any particular member of that class. This tendency is shown by the fact that, while 'gentlemen' and 'ladies' are much used as titles in direct address for two or more individuals of the upper class of society, 'gentleman' or 'lady' are never used by persons of refinement as a title for any individual member of that class. 'Girls,' 'fellows,' etc., are frequently employed in the plural, but 'girl' and 'fellow' are never used in the singular as titles in direct address, except with a decidedly pejorative coloring. This hesitation to use the generic term as a title in direct address for an individual member of a class seems to have arisen because of a feeling that such a title is too abrupt and colorless, and that it should be softened and rendered more personal by the addition of some further concept: hence, such titles as 'my dear fellow,' or 'my dear lady.'

This same feeling existed in the French² and there are but few cases where a generic term has been used as a title in direct

¹ "Amiré, sire, franc chevalier vaillant." *Prise d'Orange*, 476 (noble to king of the Saracens).—"Ralés vous ent ariere, franc chevalier courtois." *Bast. de Bouillon*, 1506 (noble to king).—"Frans chevaliers, bien dëussiez rois estre!" *Coronnement Louis*, 2164 (noble to count).—"Chevalier, que faites vos ci, Cuens de Blois, sire de Couci, Cuens de Saint Pol, fiz au buen Hue?" *Rustebeuf*, I, 72 (bourgeois to count).

"Baron, franc chevalier, laissiés l'asaut estre!" *Fierebras*, 3826 (king to nobles of high rank).—"Seigneur," dist Hugues, "franc chevalier, baron." *Aimeri de Narbonne*, 2733 (count to nobles of high rank).

"E vous .l. chevalier c'ot nom Raoul, Vavassor de la terre, molt gentiex hom." *Aiol*, 1369.

Je Robers de Limeres, chevalier, chastelains de Pinkeigny, *Cartulaire de Pinkeigny*. *Aroh. Nat. R.* 35, fo. 72vo (G).

"Chevaliers, car avoir devés." *Chev. aux Deux Épées*, 1650 (king to young noble).

² See *supra*, p. 69.

address for an individual member of a class. *Chevaliers*, the generic term for the nobility, was, therefore, rarely used as a title for an individual noble. In works embracing all the periods covered by the present study and from all sections of France, it was extensively employed by emperors, kings, seigneurs, nobles of all ranks, and heralds, as a title in direct address for two or more members of the nobility, whatever their rank in the hierarchy.¹ Since it was a generic name, however, it occasionally shared the same fate as other such terms and was restricted so that it came to designate only those members who occupied the lowest rank in the class named. This shift was due to the desire among men to be distinguished from their fellows, and the ill grace with which they accept a designation used also for their inferiors.² The nobles of high rank were consequently addressed as *conte*, *baron*, etc., to distinguish them from their fellow nobles of lower rank, who, not having any special title, were addressed simply as *chevaliers*.

Since *chevaliers* was often used to designate those nobles who had no other rank (the nobles of low rank), it often shifted to mean 'a noble of low rank.'³ This transferred meaning of the word, as happened in the case of *amis*, never drove out the "usual" meaning, 'a noble of any rank.'⁴

¹ E dist Bertrans: "As armes, chevalier!" *Coronnement Louis*, 1162 (noble to fellow nobles).—"Monjoie," escrie, "chevaliers, or venez!" *Aliscans*, 6022 (count to noble followers).—E dist li rois: "Or après, chevalier." *Ogier*, 274 (emperor to noble followers).—"Avoia," escrie, "mi chevalier, ferés." *Huon de Bordeaux*, 4364 (seigneur to noble followers).—See also *Coronnement Louis*, 2325;—*Raoul de Cambrai*, 1290;—*Bast. de Bouillon*, 394.

² See *supra*, p. 28.—"Par ma foi," dit Butor, "chevalier, vous l'amés." *Brun de la Mont.*, 653 (seigneur to his noble followers).—"Or tost, alés as rans entre vous, chevalier." *Brun de la Mont.*, 2080 (herald to nobles).

³ *Chevaliers* was especially contrasted with *baron* which, as has been shown, was the designation for nobles of high rank:

"Armez vous errament, chevalier et baron!" *Hugues Capet*, 1860 (king to his nobles of high and low rank).—"Or vous traîés en cha, chevalier et baron!" *Bast. de Bouillon*, 6551 (author to nobles of high and low rank).

⁴ See *supra*, p. 28.

While extensively employed as a generic term for two or more members of the nobility, *chevaliers*, in the singular and unrelieved by some honorific adjective, was never used in direct address as a title of respect. It was employed, however, as a sort of insult with the pejorative shading of 'you fellow' in those cases where the speaker did not desire to show respect to the hearer. For example, a king or a knight-errant meets a noble who is a stranger to him and of whose condition or estate he knows nothing except that he belongs to the warrior class. If he desires to be friendly to this noble, he adds to his positive knowledge that he is a noble, a *chevaliers*, the courteous suggestion that he is a brave or eminent chevalier, and addresses him as *frans chevaliers* or *nobles chevaliers*.¹ If he does not desire to be friendly, he addresses him simply as *chevaliers*, inferring by the omission of an honorific adjective that he knows or cares nothing about his excellence of mind or body and probably doubts the existence of such characteristics.² The insult intended is clearly brought out by the use, in many of these examples, of the personal pronoun "*tu*," a form used to inferiors.

¹ See discussion of these combinations as titles in direct address.

² In texts of all periods and from all sections of the territory except the West, *chevaliers* was used as a title for nobles toward whom the speaker did not entertain friendly feelings:

"Chevaliers," fet il, "savoir vuel Qui vous estes et don venez." *Erec*, 3988 (noble to noble, a stranger).—"U es tu, chevaliers, moult t'ai hui escrié." *Fierebras*, 96 (noble challenging a stranger to combat).—"Chevaliers, maudis soies tu!" *Erec*, 5027 (noble lady to noble whom she despises).—"Qui es tu, chevaliers, desor cel auferant?" *Elie de St. Gille*, 296 (noble to noble, a stranger and enemy).—"A haute vois escrie: "Chevaliers, qui es tu?" *Elie de St. Gille*, 776 (count to noble, a stranger and enemy).—"Et dist li rois: "Qui es tu, chevalier?" *Ogier*, 3402 (king to young noble, a stranger).—"Chevalier," fait il, "mar passastes!" *Bel Desconu*, 393 (noble to noble whom he has challenged to combat).—"Fui, chevaliers, ne chante mie!" *Meraugis de Portlesgues*, 3690 (noble to noble whom he has challenged to combat).—"Chevaliers, i'a mout bien ïi." *Chev. aux Deux Épeés*, 775 (king to messenger of hostile noble who has insulted him).—"Qui es tu, chevalier?" *Amis et Amiles* (O. F. N.) page 46 (pilgrim to noble).—"Avoi chevaliers." *Pastorellen*, II, 20, 245 (shepherdess to noble lover whom she has repulsed).

2. *Frans Chevaliers.*

The most important compound of *chevaliers* was *frans chevaliers*. The original meaning of this combination was 'my free or noble gentleman.'¹ Because the ideas of 'free' and 'noble' were included in the sum-total of the concepts which made up the meaning of *chevaliers*,² and because of the very strong tendency toward the decolorization of all adjectives added to appellatives to form titles, *frans* soon became a mere honorific prefix to *chevaliers* and *frans chevaliers* shifted to mean 'my honored chevalier' or 'my honored sir.'

The addition of *frans* had, however, two effects on the use of *chevaliers* as a title in direct address:

1. In works of all periods covered by this study and from all sections of France, *frans chevaliers*, like *chevaliers*, was employed by emperors or kings,³ by seigneurs,⁴ by nobles of all

¹ See chapter treating *frans hom* for discussion of the meaning of *frans*.

² See *supra*, p. 79.

³ "Franc chevalier," dist l'emperere Carles. *Roland*, 279 (Emperor Charles to his nobles of all ranks).—"Franc chevalier, or venez dont avant!" *Charroi de Nîmes*, 584 (king to his nobles of all ranks).—"Franc chevalier, ne fuiez mais!" *Thebes*, 3383 (king to his nobles).—"Franc chevalier, con sui por vos dolant." *Ogier*, 521 (Emperor Charles to his nobles).—"Se dist li rois: "Frans chevalier, baron." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 4858 (king of France to his nobles).—Charles escrie: "As armes, franc chevalier nobile." *Maugis d'Aigremont*, 4749 (Emperor Charles to nobles).—See also *Fierebras*, 3826;—*Aimeri de Narbonne*, 798;—*Amis et Amiles*, 1797;—*Bast. de Bouillon*, 6343;—*Prise d'Orange*, 693;—*Amis et Amiles*, 1828;—*Fierebras*, 2331.

⁴ "Alez en fleure, franc chevalier membré!" *Charroi de Nîmes*, 856 (Count William to his nobles).—"Alés avant, franc chevalier!" *Thebes*, 10103 (duke to his nobles).—"Or m'en siwez," fet il, "seigneur, franc chevalier!" *St. Thomas*, 5308 (seigneur to his nobles).—"Issons la fors, franc chevalier membré!" *Aimeri de Narbonne*, 4278 (count to his nobles).—"Seignor," dist il, "franc chevalier mirable." *Amis et Amiles*, 777 (count to his nobles).—"Avant, frans chevaliers! que Dieu vous doint pardon!" *Hugues Capet*, 1264 (seigneur to his nobles).—See also *Troie*, 7463;—*Raoul de Cambrai*, 5477;—*Chev. au Cygne*, 6087.

ranks,¹ by the lower classes of society,² and by the clergy³ as a generic title in direct address for two or more members of the nobility, whatever their rank in the noble hierarchy. *Frans chevaliers*, however,⁴ did not share the fate of most generic class names, and did not shift to designate members of the class of the lowest rank.⁵ Rather, the addition of *frans* seems to have raised *chevaliers* to be the equivalent of *baron*, a word employed especially for members of the nobility of high rank.⁶

2. *Frans chevaliers*, unlike *chevaliers*,⁷ possessed no pejorative by-notions when used in direct address as a title for an individual member of the nobility: it seems, rather, to have been an appellation of the highest honor.⁸ In works from all the periods covered by this study and from all sections of France, *frans chevaliers* was used by nobles as a title for a king, count, or baron,⁹ by nobles as a title for their friends of equal rank,

¹ A vois escrie: "Franc chevalier, montez!" *Raoul de Cambrai*, 5446 (noble to nobles of all ranks).—"Baron, or du bien faire, franc chevalier membré." *Fierebras*, 5219 (noble girl to her noble friends).

² "Frans chevalier, La venjance va querre!" *Coronnement Louis*, 1602 (gate keeper to noble).—"Franc chevalier," font il, "que faites?" *Thebes*, 8104 (the watch to nobles of a castle).

³ "Levez les ent, franc chevalier gentil!" *Raoul de Cambrai*, 5330 (*abbé* to nobles of all ranks).—"Saint Sepulcre, or avant, franc chevalier de pris!" *Bast. de Bouillon*, 392 (bishop to nobles of all ranks).

⁴ See *supra*, p. 87.

⁵ See *supra*, p. 69.

⁶ "Baron, franc chevalier, laissies l'assaut ester." *Fierebras*, 3826 (king to noble followers).—Ce dist G.: "Franc chevalier, baron." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 3327 (noble to fellow nobles).—For other examples, see *supra*, p. 69.

⁷ See *supra*, p. 89.

⁸ See examples of *frans chevaliers* in which the word is the equivalent of *baron*, *supra*, p. 69.

⁹ "Frans chevaliers, bien dëussiez rois estre." *Coronnement Louis*, 2164 (noble to count).—"Amiré, sire, frans chevalier vaillant." *Prise d'Orange*, 476 (noble to king).—Si li a dit com a signor: "Franc chevalier, ne prenes garde." *Ille et Galeron*, 2243 (seneschal to Ille, speaking to him as to a seigneur).—A vois escrie: "Franc chevalier, montez!" *Raoul de Cambrai*, 5446 (a messenger (*escuiers*) to nobles).—"Ralés vous ent ariere, franc chevalier courtois." *Bast. de Bouillon*, 1601 (king to king).—See also *Huon de Bordeaux*, 706.

and by noble women as a title for their husbands or lovers.¹ In no case is *frans chevaliers* employed by nobles as a title for a person of a rank inferior to that of their own.

3. *Frans Chevaliers* + *Adjective*.

It has been said ² that, in the compound *frans chevaliers*, *frans* early lost its original meaning and became a mere honorific handle of honor. Either with a view to strengthening this colorless compound or because of the love of repetition in the Middle Ages, other adjectives were added to *frans chevaliers*. Many of these adjectives were so repeatedly joined to it that they became fixed locutions. Others were but sporadically employed.

Frans Chevaliers Gentils.³—In works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from the East, North, and Center, *frans chevaliers gentils* was used as a title of much honor for nobles of all ranks.⁴

¹ "La en iroiz, frans chevalier de pris!" *Coronnement Louis*, 1658 (noble to noble of equal rank).—Et cil li dist: "Frans chevaliers." *Erec*, 4481 (noble to noble of equal rank).—"Car pren l'amende, frans chevalier eslis!" *Raoul de Cambrai*, 5183 (noble to noble of equal rank).—See also *Prise d'Orange*, 1733.

"Frans chevalier, por Deu te pri." *Erec*, 4351 (noble young girl to a noble she has never seen before).—"Que ferés vous," fait ele, "nobile chevalier?" *Fierebras*, 3497 (wife of noble to nobles whom she desires to rescue her husband).—"Se m'as a feme, frans chevalier oneste!" *Raoul de Cambrai*, 5724 (noble girl to lover).—Li dist: "Frans chevaliers, merci." *Escoufte*, 755 (noble girl to a noble).—"Frans chevaliers fins et loiaus." *Ille et Galeron*, 4240 (wife to count).—See also *Fierebras*, 2780 and 5219;—*Raoul de Cambrai*, 5682;—*Amis et Amiles*, 1434;—*Raoul de Cambrai*, 6823.

² See *supra*, p. 90.

³ See chapter on *gentils hom*.

⁴ "Dont estes vos, franc chevalier gentill?" *Prise d'Orange*, 693 (queen to noble, a stranger).—"Venez avant, frans chevaliers gentils!" *Aimeri de Narbonne*, 453 (Emperor Charles to marquis).—"Levez les ent, franc chevalier gentill!" *Raoul de Cambrai*, 5330 (*abbé* to nobles).—"Merci!" dist il, "frans chevalier gentils!" *Raoul de Cambrai*, 4740 (noble to noble).—"Et car me baise, frans chevalier gentils!" *Raoul de Cambrai*, 570 (noble young girl to noble she loves). See also *Prise d'Orange*, 1348.

*Frans Chevaliers Membrés.*¹—In works of the twelfth and first half of the thirteenth centuries from the East, North, and Center, *frans chevaliers membrés* was used by kings, counts and nobles as a title for nobles of all ranks.²

*Frans Chevaliers Nobiles.*³—In texts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from the North and Center, *frans chevaliers nobiles* is used by kings, seigneurs, and nobles, as a title of much honor for nobles of all ranks.⁴

*Frans Chevaliers de Pris.*⁵—In works of the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries, from the North and Center, *frans chevaliers de pris* was used by nobles of all ranks as a title for their friends.⁶

¹ See chapter on *hom*.

² Dist Arragons: "Franc chevalier membré." *Prise d'Orange*, 1488 (king of Saracens to noble followers).—"Alez en feure, franc chevaliers membré!" *Charroi de Nîmes*, 856 (noble to nobles).—"Comment avés a nom, franc chevaliers membré?" *Fierebras*, 2774 (Saracen princess to Saracen noble).—"Baron, or du bien faire, franc chevalier membré." *Fierebras*, 5219 (noble girl to nobles).—Dist a ses homes: "Franc chevalier membré." *Aimeri de Narbonne*, 883 (Count Aimeri to his nobles).—"Jel vos pardoins, frans chevaliers membrez." *Amis et Amiles*, 840 (queen to count she loves).—See also *Fierebras*, 2331;—*Aimeri de Narbonne*, 4278;—*Raoul de Cambrai*, 5154.

³ See chapter on *hom*.

⁴ "Bien vieigniez-vos, franc chevalier nobile." *Prise d'Orange*, 1793 (noble to noble).—"Comment avés a nom, frans chevalier nobiles." *Fierebras*, 2780 (Pagan princess to Christian noble).—"Faites bel contenant, franc chevalier nobile." *Elie de St. Gille*, 1305 (young noble to superior noble).—"Adobés vos, franc chevalier nobile." *Ogier*, 1717 (Pagan king to his nobles).—"Ainz la panrez, frans chevalier nobile." *Amis et Amiles*, 1797 (emperor to noble count).—Charles escrie: "As armes, franc chevalier nobile." *Maugis d'Aigremont*, 4729 (Emperor Charles to his nobles).—See also *Prise d'Orange*, 1299;—*Prise d'Orange*, 1746;—*Maugis d'Aigremont*, 4749.

⁵ See chapter on *hom*.

⁶ "La en irois, frans chevalier de pris!" *Coronnement Louis*, 1658 (noble to noble, his friend).—"Tenés l'enchant, frans chevalier de pris." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 6507 (seigneur to his nobles).—"Entendez moi, franc chevalier de pris!" *Huon de Bordeaux*, 1604 (noble to fellow nobles).—"Ahi!" dist ele, "frans chevaliers de pris." *Amis et Amiles*, 1434 (king's daughter to noble she loves).—"Saint Sepulcre, or avant, franc chevalier de pris!" *Bast. de Bouillon*, 392 (bishop to nobles).

Frans Chevaliers Vaillanz.¹—In texts of the eleventh, twelfth and first half of the thirteenth centuries, from the West, North, and Center, *frans chevaliers vaillanz* was used by kings, seigneurs and nobles, as a title of much honor for nobles of all ranks.²

In the texts consulted for this study, there is but one example of each of the following combinations of *frans chevaliers* + an adjective.

Frans chevaliers adroiz.

"E! B. sire, frans chevalier adrois." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 6823 (wife to noble).

Frans chevaliers courtois.

"Frans chevalier courtois, et plains de grant bonté." *Chev. au Cygne*, 5032 (noble to friend).

Frans chevaliers esliz.

"Car pren l'amende, frans chevalier eslis!" *Raoul de Cambrai*, 5185 (noble to noble, his friend).

Frans chevaliers fins.

"Frans chevaliers fins et loiaus." *Ille et Galeron*, 4240 (wife to noble).

Frans chevaliers loiaus.

"Frans chevaliers fins et loiaus." *Ille et Galeron*, 4240 (wife to noble).

Frans chevaliers loez.

"Ferez i bien, franc chevalier loé!" *Aimeri de Narbonne*, 889 (count to noble follower).

Frans chevaliers mirables.

"He! B. sire, frans chevalier mirables." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 7308 (wife to noble).

Frans chevaliers de non.

"A Jhesu vous conmans, franc chevalier de non." *Bast. de Bouillon*, 6303 (king to noble followers).

¹ See chapter on *hom*.

² "Oiez mei ore, franc chevalier vaillant!" *Roland*, 2657 (emperor to his nobles).—"Entendez-moi, franc chevalier vaillant!" *Prise d'Orange*, 85 (noble to his nephews).—"Amiré, sire, franc chevalier vaillant." *Prise d'Orange*, 476 (noble to king).—"Poi avons gent, franc chevalier vaillant." *Ogier*, 523 (Emperor Charles to his nobles).—"Venez avant, franc chevalier vaillant!" *Aimeri de Narbonne*, 474 (Emperor Charles to nobles).—"Plevi m'avez, franc chevalier vaillant." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 3252 (seigneur to his nobles).

Frans chevaliers onestes.

"Se m'as a feme, frans chevalier oneste." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 5724 (noble woman to lover).

Frans chevaliers poissanz.

"Poignons avant, frans chevalier poissant." *Ogier*, 524 (emperor to noble followers).

4. *Nobles Chevaliers.*

*Nobles*¹ *chevaliers*, like *frans chevaliers*,² was a title that conveyed much more honor than *chevaliers* without a qualifying epithet. In works of the twelfth and first half of the thirteenth centuries from the East, North, and Center, it was used by kings, seigneurs, nobles of all ranks, and priests, as a title of great respect for one or more members of the nobility who were of high rank in the noble hierarchy.³ It was also employed by women as a title for their husbands and lovers.⁴ Like *frans chevaliers*⁵ it was not a term of disrespect when used as a title for an individual member of the nobility.

¹ See chapter on *hom*.

² See *supra*, p. 90.

³ "Or tost as armes, nobile chevalier!" *Prise d'Orange*, 889 (king to nobles, his vassals).—"Que les me gardés, nobile chevalier." *Coronnement Louis*, 224 (son of emperor to Count William of Orange).—"Ahi!" dit il, "nobile chevalier." *Coronnement Louis*, 584 (Pope to Count William of Orange).—"Pour Diu, or du bien faire, nobile chevalier!" *Fierebras*, 3273 (noble to his fellow nobles).—"Sire," dist l'enfes, "nobile chevalier." *Ogier*, 134 (young noble to nobles, asking their aid).—"Baron," dist W, "nobile chevalier." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 2102 (noble to his nobles).—See also *Charroi de Nîmes*, 338;—*Elie de St. Gille*, 628 and 1109;—*Ogier*, 693 and 3975:

"Merci Guillaume, nobile chevalier." *Charroi de Nîmes*, 567 (noble lady asks aid of Count William of Orange).—"Or i parra, nobles chevaliers." *Ogier*, 2661 (Saracen princess to noble she admires).—"Seignor baron, nobile chevalier." *Aimcri de Narbonne*, 2626 (princess to messengers of King of France).—"Ahi," fait ele, "nobles chevaliers." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 236 (noble woman to her husband).

⁵ See *supra*, p. 91.

5. *Bons¹ Chevalliers.*

Bons chevaliers was a less popular title in direct address than either *frans chevaliers* or *nobiles chevaliers*. This was probably due to the fact that 'goodness' was not judged to be a *sine qua non* of a warrior and that pejorative by-notions have always developed around the conception of this quality. Only employed when it was desired to emphasize the 'goodness' of the person addressed, *bons* unlike *frans* or *nobiles* did not lose its meaning and did not become a colorless epithet of honor.² *Bons chevaliers* first occurs in the *Roland*, and is found in eight examples in works of the eleventh, twelfth, and first half of the thirteenth centuries from the West, North, and Center of France.³ There are no examples after the first half of the thirteenth century.

6. Miscellaneous Compounds of *Chevalliers*.

The following compounds of *chevalliers* with descriptive epithets occur so rarely in the texts consulted for this study that any mention of their use beyond merely to catalog them is impossible. There are never more than three examples in the works in question.

¹ See chapter on *bons homes*.

² In four of these examples which are contained in the *Roland*, the Archbishop Turpin in his character of a prelate incites the French nobles to moral and spiritual excellence. It is to be remarked, however, that the title was never employed in the *Roland* by nobles as a title for their fellows. In two of the remaining examples, a minstrel who desires *largesse* appeals to the good will of his noble audience by addressing the members of it as *bons chevaliers*; in the other two examples, the goodness of the person addressed is especially emphasized.

³ "Bon chevalier, nen alez mespensant!" *Roland*, 1427 (Archbishop Turpin to French nobles).—"Et vos, saignor, bon chevalier." *Durmart le Gauois*, 15911 (*menestrel* to noble audience).—"Ahi, Amile, cousin, bons chevaliers." *Amis et Amiles*, 592 (noble to cousin, a good man).—"Rainouars sire, bons chevalier eslis!" *Aliscans*, 4219 (nobles to their good seigneur).

Chevaliers Anglois.

"Chevaliers engleis, seiez beneit!" *Fitz Warren*, 81 (king to English noble).

Chevaliers Agenciz.

"Tres dous freres loiaus, chevaliers agencis." *Bast. de Bouillon*, 414 (noble to his brother).

Beaus Chevaliers.

"Biaus chevaliers, janz et adrois." *Erec*, 5722 (bourgeois to noble).—
"Biaus chevaliers, genz et adrois." *Chevalier à l'Épée*, 161 (peasant to noble).—"Beaus chevaliers, ditez me vos." *Meraugis de Portlesguez*, 4842 (noble girl to noble, a stranger).

Chevaliers Debonaires.

"Malquarrés, cort li sus, chevaliers debonaire." *Chev. au Cygne*, 1555 (noble lady to noble friend).

Gentils Chevaliers.

"Ha! jantius chevalier, merci." *Erec*, 1002 (noble to noble, his friend).
—"Ahi! gentiz chevaliers." *Fabliaux*, I, 64 (noble lady to noble, a stranger).

Loials Chevaliers.

"Ha! loyal chevalier sur touz." *Miracles de N. Dame*, B. XII, 1376 (noble to noble, his friend).

Chevaliers Naturez.

Il escrient: "Chevalier naturés." *Elie de St. Gille*, 719 (noble to noble, his friend).

CHAPTER VII.

COMPAINZ AND ITS COMPOUNDS.

SECTION I.

COMPAINZ.

A. Meaning of *Compainz*.

It has been said¹ that sometime between the seventh and eleventh centuries, *compagnonage* denoted a more or less formal relationship that existed among two or more members of the *maisniee* of a seigneur; that, like most formal personal relationships, it arose because the weakness of the central government compelled men to ally themselves with their fellows by fixed and stringent bonds for the defense and protection of their reciprocal interests. In the course of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, however, the royal power in France became increasingly greater and greater, and the causes that produced such relationships as that indicated by *compagnonage* gradually disappeared. Therefore, it is a logical *a-priori* supposition that, during this period, that institution should cease to exist. This supposition is borne out by the fact that there is nothing in the French or Latin texts of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries which shows that *compagnonage* was, at that time, an actual living institution.²

Exception might be taken to this last assertion on the ground that there are, in the texts of the twelfth and thirteenth cen-

¹ See *supra*, p. 14.

² It is impossible to determine exactly how long before the eleventh century *compagnonage*, as an actual living institution, ceased to exist. It is the impression of the author that it was still an existing bond of relationship in the eleventh century; all that can be said with certainty, however, is that it had disappeared as an actual living institution before the twelfth century.

turies, numerous examples where men enter into *compagnonage* of both the lower and the higher degree. In the *Fierebras*, for example, there is a description of a *compagnonage* of the very highest sort between Roland and Oliver: in the *Amis et Amiles*, a similar relation exists between the two heroes of the work. It must be remembered, however, that the relation of *compagnonage* between Roland and Oliver was one of the chief *motifs* of the tradition concerning them, and that the author of the *Amis et Amiles*, with a view to illustrate the ideal love of one man for another, chose to represent as existing between them the famous relationship of *compagnonage* that had bound together the warriors of an earlier epoch. The other occurrences of *compagnonage* of the higher degree in the works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries can also be explained as the remains, in literary tradition, of an institution that formerly existed. The same thing can be said concerning *compagnonage* of the lower degree. By the twelfth century, the "realty" bond had replaced the "personal" bond as the basis of society,¹ the followers of a seigneur, except in times of war, no longer lived with their lord, and except as a literary tradition, the *maisniee* in its original character had² ceased to exist. In the "normal" meaning, 'a fellow member of the same *maisniee*,' however, and in the original signification of the word itself, there is present the idea of 'he who leads a common life with someone,' 'a comrade.' Therefore, when men were no longer associated as members of the same *maisniee* and came into contact with one another only by having common pursuits, *compagnonage*, the term for the formal relationship among men of the same *maisniee*, came to designate only that informal relationship existing among men who lead a common life. *Compainz*, consequently, was in actual use among the society of the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries, only in the

¹ See *supra*, p. 5.

² For examples of *compaignonage* preserved in the literary tradition of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see *infra*, p. 101.

meaning, 'a man who leads a common life with someone,' 'a comrade.'¹

Because it designated 'a man who leads a common life with someone' and because this meaning exactly expressed the relationship existing between a man and his wife or mistress, *compainz*, in the first half of the thirteenth century, shifted in many instances to mean 'husband' or 'lover.'² In the fourteenth century, however, it took on decidedly pejorative by-notations and came to designate only 'a man who is the compaignon of a woman in an unlawful love,' '*un homme galant*.'³

B. *Compainz* used as a Title in Direct Address.

- (1). As used in the Texts of the Eleventh Century in the "Normal" Meaning, 'A Man who Stands in the Relationship of *Compaignonage* to the Speaker.'

In the *Roland*,⁴ *compainz* was used by nobles as a title in direct address for those nobles who were bound to them by *compaignonage*.⁵

¹ For examples of *compainz* in the meaning, 'comrade,' see examples given under use of *compainz* as a title in direct address, *infra*, pp. 101 ff.

² Et tante jantil dame perdi son compaignon. *Renaud de Montauban*, 11.

³ Femme punie dans l'autre monde pour les anneaulx et petit joyaulx qu'elle avoit receus des compaignons pour amourettes. *Le Chevalier de la Tour, Instructions à ses filles*, fol. 271 (G).

On this word, there seems to have been built a verb with the meaning, "to keep company with," "to associate with."

Comme renommee fust que Guillemot petit compaignast charnelement le femme du dit Enguerran. *Lit. Remiss. ann. 1377*, in *Reg.* 112, ch. 34 (D. C.).

⁴ It is the impression of the author that *compaignonage* was actually a living institution in the eleventh century. See *supra*, p. 98, note 2.

⁵ "Cumpaing, que faites vos?" *Roland*, 1380 (Roland to Oliver, his *compaignon* of the higher degree).—Ço dist Roland: "Por quei me portez ire?" *Roland*, 1723 (Roland to Oliver).—Ço dist Roland: "Oliviers, compaign, frere." *Roland*, 1456 (Roland to Oliver, his *compaignon* and fictitious brother).

- (2). As used in Texts later than the Eleventh Century in the "Normal" Meaning, 'A Man who Stands in the Relationship of *Compagnonage* to the Speaker.'

In the texts of the twelfth and of the thirteenth centuries from the North and Center, *compainz* was used by nobles as a title for those men who were bound to them by *compagnonage* of the higher degree.¹

In works of the twelfth century from the North, *compainz* was used by nobles as a title for those men who were bound to them by *compagnonage* of the lower degree.²

- (3). As used in Texts later than the Eleventh Century in the "Transferred" Meaning, 'A Man who leads a Common Life with the Speaker,' 'A Comrade.'

Since *compagnonage* was an institution existing among the nobles of the *maisniee* of a seigneur, there are no examples of the word in the "normal" meaning used as a title for members of either the clergy or the lower classes of society.³ In its "transferred" meaning, 'a man who leads a common life with the speaker,' 'a comrade,' it at once became, however, an appropriate title for both priests and bourgeois.

In texts of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries and from all sections of France, *compainz* was used by nobles as a title for their intimate friends and particular comrades.⁴

¹ "Sire Rollans, compains, car vien, que targes tu?" *Fierebras*, 1088 (Oliver to his *compagnon* Roland).—"Compains," dist Oliviers, "il vous est escapés." *Fierebras*, 2993 (Oliver to his *compagnon* Roland).—"Compains," dist il, "or ne m'amés vos mie." *Amis et Amiles*, 2878 (noble to noble, his *compagnon*).—"Amis, compains, puet ce iestre vertez?" *Amis et Amiles*, 2947 (noble to noble, his *compagnon*).

² "Qu'est ce, compainz, ou alez vos?" *Renart*, XIII, 1329 (noble to a fellow member of his seigneur's *maisniee*).—"Compains," dist il, "car la menjons." *Renart*, XV, 115 (noble to a fellow member of his seigneur's *maisniee*).

³ Because of the meaning of the word, *compainz* was never used as a title for inferiors.

⁴ "Ne m'en sai, certes, conseiller, E pur ço, compainz, vus requier." *Tris-*

In texts of the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from the North and Center, *compainz* was employed by priests as a title for their friends and intimates who led a common life with them, or who were their particular comrades in the priesthood.¹

In works of the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries, from the North and Center, *compainz* was used by bourgeois as a title for their intimate friends who lived a common life with them, or who were their particular comrades.²

SECTION II.

COMPOUNDS OF COMPAINZ.

1. *Beaus Compainz.*

In works of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries from all sections of the territory except the East, *beaus com-*

tran de Thomas, 2426.—Et dist: "Compainz, a grant meseise." *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, 1716.—"Compains," dist Galopins, "nes porons endurer." *Elie de St. Gille*, 2397.—Et dist Berrons: "Compains, ne vos cremés!" *Ogier*, 4931.—"Veés ci, compains, le cortois chevalier." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 7108.—Ains me dist: "Compains, or soies." *Rose*, 3138.—"Compains, ne vous desconfortés." *Rose*, 8035.—"Ahi, compains," dist il, "d'anoy tous li coers m'art." *Bast. de Bouillon*, 768.—(In all of the above examples, the speakers, nobles of all ranks, are addressing their intimate friends and comrades).

¹ "Compains," dist il, "estes yci?" *Renart*, XV, 374 (priest to fellow priest and comrade).—"Compains," fait il, "a mout grant tort." *Fabliaux*, VI, 127 (priest to fellow priest and comrade).

² "Compains, estes vos forsenéz?" *Fabliaux*, III, 278 (bourgeois to comrade).—"Compains, Diex te puisse mirer." *Fabliaux*, II, 179 (bourgeois to comrade).—Et dist: "Compains, ne vous poist mie." *Fabliaux*, I, 249 (bourgeois to comrade).—"Compains, entens pour amitié." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VIII, 351 (bourgeois to comrade).—"Compains, que te fu il avisi?" *Fabliaux*, VI, 133 (robber to comrade).—"A! compains, ce n'est mie fable." *Fabliaux*, V, 127 (robber to fellow robber and comrade).

*painz*¹ in the meaning, 'a man who stands in the relationship of *compagnage* to the speaker,' was used by nobles as a title in direct address for their *compagnons*.²

In texts of the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries from all sections of the territory except the East, *beaus compainz* in the meaning, 'a man who leads a common life with the speaker,' 'a comrade,' was employed by nobles,³ priests,⁴ and bourgeois⁵ as a title in direct address for their intimate friends and comrades.

2. *Beaus Douz Compainz.*

There are but five examples of *beaus douz compainz*⁶ found in the works consulted for this study. These examples are all from twelfth- and thirteenth-century texts from the North, West,

¹ The *beaus* of *beaus compainz*, like the *beaus* of *beaus amis*, at once became a mere colorless epithet of honor that added nothing to the idea already contained in *compainz*. See *supra*, p. 37, note 1.

² Co dist Rollanz: "Bels cumpaing Oliviers." *Roland*, 2207 (Roland to Oliver).—"Bau compaignon, mar i sachez." *Renart*, XIII, 1564 (noble to fellow member of the king's *maisniee*).—"Biaus compains Renart, g'i ai part." *Renart*, XV, 109 (noble to fellow member of the king's *maisniee*).—"Biaus chiers compains, bonne foi me portez." *Amis et Amiles*, 1090 (noble to his *compagnon*).

³ "Cha te trei, biaux compains Galopin," dist Elye. *Elie de St. Gille*, 1287 (noble to comrade).—"A! beaz compains gentiez et dos." *Durmart le Gaulois*, 13320 (noble to comrade).—"Biau compains, si le saluons." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VI, 800 (noble to comrade).

⁴ "Biaux compains, quar le m'enseigniez." *Renart*, XV, 489 (priest to comrade in the priesthood).—"Quant vendrez a cort, biau compaign." *Fabliaux*, V, 148 (priest to comrade in the priesthood).—"Biau compains, contre la mettez!" *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VI, 1558 (priest to comrade in the priesthood).

⁵ "Demande," fait il, "beaus compains." *Fabliaux*, V, 213 (bourgeois to friend and comrade).—"Et li dist: "Or sus, biaux compains." *Fabliaux*, III, 278 (bourgeois to comrade).—"Bel compainnon, dun ne l'vëis tu?" *Resurrection du Sauveur*, 128 (soldier to fellow soldier and comrade).—"Biaus compains," ce li dist Travers. *Fabliaux*, IV, 96 (robber to fellow robber).—"Tu as raison, beau compaignon." *Robin et Marion*, 501 (shepherd to comrade).

⁶ See *supra*, p. 47.

and Center. In them *beaus douz compainz* is employed by nobles as a title for their *compagnons*; ¹ by nobles, priests and bourgeois as a title for their intimate friends. ²

3. *Sire Compainz.*

In texts of the eleventh, twelfth, and first half of the thirteenth centuries from the West, North and Center, *sire compainz* is used by nobles as a title for their *compagnons* ³ and intimate friends. ⁴ It is never used by either the clergy or the *bourgeoisie*; it is, moreover, never found in the works from the East. ⁵

4. Miscellaneous Compounds of *Compainz*.

The following compounds of *compainz* occur so rarely in the texts consulted for this study that any discussion of their use beyond the mere cataloguing of their existence is impossible. They never occur in more than two examples in the works in question.

Douz compainz.

Li messages respont: "Dous compains, grant merci." *Brun de la Mont.*, 439 (valet to *serjant*, whom he meets for the first time).

¹ "Renart," fet il, "baux doz compainz." *Renart*, I, 768 (noble to fellow member of the *maisniee* of the king).—"Beaus dous compains, parlés a moi." *Amis et Amiles*, 2850 (noble to his *compagnon*).

² "Pert jo, bels dulz compainz, ma vie." *Tristran de Thomas*, 2404 (noble to his comrade).—"Biaus dous compains, parlés a moi." *Fabliaux*, V, 123 (priest to fellow priest).—"Biaus dous amis, biaux dous compains." *Fabliaux*, IV, 3 (*bourgeoise* to priest lover).

³ "Sire cumpaing, amis, nel dire ja." *Roland*, 1113 (Roland to Oliver).—"Sire compains, et que fait vostre fame?" *Amis et Amiles*, 519 (noble to his *compagnon*).

⁴ "Sire compain, ci en vient une." Marie de France, *Lanval*, 605 (noble to his intimate friend).—"Sire cumpaing, antendés ça." *Renart*, I, 1650 (noble to his intimate friend).

⁵ For a further discussion of this title, see chapter on *sire* (*infra*).

Beaus chiers compainz.

"Biaus chiers compains, bonne foi me portez." *Amis et Amiles*, 1090 (noble to his *compagnon*).

Gentils compainz.

"Vëez, gentis compaignes, de pelerins erranz." *Pelerinage de Charlemagne*, 95 (emperor to nobles).

Frans compainz.

"Franc compaignon, por dieu, venez avant." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 3249 (noble to his fellow members of the king's *maison*).

SECTION III.

COMPAIGNE.

In the works consulted for this study, the earliest example of *compaignie* used as a title in direct address belongs to the second half of the twelfth century. In works of the second half of the twelfth, the thirteenth, and the first half of the fourteenth centuries from the West, North, and Center, *compaignie* in the meaning, 'a woman who leads a common life with me,' was used by women of the nobility¹ and of the *bourgeoisie*² as a title for their intimate friends. Possessing, as it did, by notions of the equality of the speaker³ and the hearer, the word was never used by these women as a title for their social superiors or inferiors.

¹ Because of the few examples of the title contained in the texts consulted, *compaignie* and its compounds will be treated together instead of separately.

"Bele compaignie Blanceflor." *Flore et Blanche fleur*, 2375 (noble girl to intimate friend).—"Bele douce compaignie, esgarde." *Jus Adam*, 640 (noble woman to intimate friend).—"Bielle compaignie, a il ichi rice tresor." *O. F. N.*, 21 (noble girl to intimate friends).—"Compaignie, hardement." *Romanzen*, 48, 25 (noble lady to intimate friend).

² "Par deu, belle compaignete." *Pastorellen*, II, 24, 12 (shepherdess to shepherdess).—"Compaygne, metez le vyt avaunt!" *Fabliaux*, IV, 130 (bourgeois woman to woman friend).—"Compaignete, or m'entendés!" *Romanzen*, 67, 10 (bourgeois woman to woman friend).

³ See *supra*, p. 101, note 3.

When used by men, *compaignie* in its meaning, "a woman who leads a common life with me," could be employed as a title for the speaker's wife or mistress, according to whether their common life was founded on a legitimate or an illegitimate relation. In texts of the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from the North and Center, *compaignie* was used by nobles and bourgeois as a title for their wives and mistresses.¹

Bone compaignie, probably on account of the pejorative by-notions associated with the adjective *bone*,² came to be employed in the meaning of a 'femme galante.'³

¹ Si li a dit: "Bele conpaigne." *Renart*, IX, 1006 (*vilian* to his wife).—
"Bele compaignie, doce sor." *Renart*, IX, 1518 (noble to his wife).

² See chapter on *hom* (*infra*).

³ *Compaignie* seems to have been especially used in the meaning, 'wife,' and *bone compaignie* in the meaning, 'mistress.'

Le connetable s'en retourna a Vire, ou se rendit madame sa compaignie. *Hist. de Artus III, Conestable de France*, 789 (St. P.)—Le roi se reserve dans la peche de la baleine la tete, et la couve (queue) a nostre compaignie (la reine). Britt., *Loix d'Angleterre*, fo. 27 (Guil.).

(In both of these examples, *compaignie* designates 'wife'.)

Non obstant que laditte fille ou temps passé eust esté bonne compaignie et de son corps sa voulenté eust faite. *Lit. Remiss. ann.* 1386, *ex. Reg.*, 129, *ch.* 207 (D. C.)

Charlemagne fut fort adonné aux femmes; memes ses filles furent bonnes compaignes. *Brant. Dames*, p. 96 (D. C.)

(In both of these examples *compaignie* designates 'mistress'.)

CHAPTER VIII.

DANZ.

A. *Danz* used as a Title for the Nobility and Clergy.

In its earliest meaning, *danz*¹ signified 'he who has authority,' and was used as a designation for a king only.²

¹ *Dominus* signified 'he who has authority' and, in the days of the supremacy of the early French kings, was employed as a designation for the king only.

Rogo . . . ut hunc juvenem N. apud domnum, imperatorem (Lothaire) adjuvare dignemini, ut beneficium quod ipse et frater suus habent non perdant. Eginhard, Letter 29, in *Mon. Germ. Epistolæ Carolini ævi*, III, p. 124 (D. C.).

On the introduction of the feudal system, its use was extended to designate any feudal seigneur who had authority over persons or property. Since the supreme ruler, the *dominus*, was still the king, these other feudal overlords were always spoken of as the *dominus* of X . . . , the county, château, town, priory, abbey, or other territorial division over which they had authority being specifically mentioned.

Gaufridus Vigers, dominus de Faia, dedit et concessit . . . *Archives historiques de la Saintonge*, XIII, p. 25.—Ego, Baldinus, dominus de Luvencort et Agnes, uxor mea, dedimus . . . *Arch. Nat. M. M.* 894, no. 56 (D.C.)—Domnus Nivele, dominus de Petrafonte, . . . Tardif, *Monuments Historiques*, p. 193, no. 318.

In speaking of those seigneurs, who, by virtue of authority over some territorial division, were entitled to be designated as the *dominus* of that division, it became the custom to add *dominus* to their Christian names, or to their territorial titles (such as *comes*, *abbes*, etc., derived from the nature of the territorial division over which they had authority).

Bernardus Alacer concessit . . . Domini Ramundi, comitis Tolosani. . . Teulet, *Layettes du trésor des Chartes*, II, 187, no. 2077.—Domnus Guido de Vitriaco, dominus de Turnomio. . . Tardif, *Monuments historiques*, p. 189, no. 303.—Domnus Hadericus, qui fuit Aurelianensis episcopus atque frater ejus, domnus Wido, abbas. . . Bernard et Bruel, *Recueil des Chartes de Cluny*, IV, p. 547, no. 3438.

In this use, *domnus* tended to become a mere handle of honor.

² By the eleventh century, *danz* had reached a stage in its development where it had ceased to designate 'he who has authority,' and had become a mere epithet of honor. Because the earlier stages of this development

On the introduction of the feudal system, its use was extended to designate any feudal seigneur who had authority over persons or property. Since the supreme ruler, the *danz*, was still the king, these other feudal overlords were always spoken of as the *danz de X . . .*, the county, château, town, priory, abbey, or other territorial division over which they had authority being specifically mentioned. In speaking of these seigneurs, who, by virtue of authority over some territorial division, were entitled to be designated as the *danz* of that division, it became the custom ¹ to add *danz* to their Christian names, or to their territorial titles. ²

As thus added to proper names and to titles, *danz* was merely a handle of honor, based, however, on the right to the title of the person spoken of. From being added to their names or titles in speaking of kings or feudal seigneurs, *danz* came to be used as a handle of honor to their names and titles in directly addressing them.

In texts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries from all sections of France except the East, *danz*, in direct address, was

are, therefore, lost, the examples of *domnus* of the ninth and tenth centuries are all the more interesting. This interest arises from the fact that the authors of these Latin examples were merely Latinizing the folk speech and that in them is shown the earlier stages in the development of *danz* from being a designation for a king, to being a mere colorless handle of honor (the expression "handle of honor" has been adopted because, while a colloquialism, it expresses more aptly than does "epithet of honor" the use of *danz* added to names or other titles).

¹ Et d'Asene, dans Garins li proisiez. *Prise d'Orange*, 1576 (speaking of count).—Com faitement *danz* Achilles. *Troie*, 6519 (speaking of noble of high rank).—Et dant Guillaume, le comte palasin. *Aliscans*, 341 (speaking of Count William of Orange).—Ne Dan Berthelemeu, l'evesque d'Execetre. *St. Thomas*, 4696.—N'unt pas purquant leissie, pur Dauns Guarins l'abé. *St. Thomas*, 3651.—Et l'archeprestre, dant Bernart. *Renart*, XVII, 789.

² Such as *cuens*, *abbes*, etc., derived from the nature of the territorial division over which they had authority. Because much of the territory was possessed by the clergy, *danz* was a title as appropriate for prelates as it was for lay nobles.

added as a handle of honor to the names and titles of kings.¹ There are no examples in works of the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, *sire* having assumed the function of *danz* as a title for kings.²

In texts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from the West, North, and Center, *danz* as a handle of honor in direct address was added to the names and titles of feudal seigneurs, both lay and ecclesiastic.³ There are no examples in works of the second half of the thirteenth, or first half of the fourteenth centuries, *sire* having assumed the function of *danz* as a title for feudal seigneurs.

Because of the speaker's desire to flatter the hearer, *danz* was often added to the names or titles of men, who were not entitled, by virtue of authority over some territorial division, to be addressed as *danz*. This misapplication was first made by servants and dependents, but, because of the universal tendency of men to flatter their fellows, *danz* was soon used by any man as a title for any person whom he might desire to honor or please, for his inferiors as well as for his equals and superiors.⁴ In this misuse, *danz* at once lost all its original meaning, ' he

¹ Et dit Guillaumes: "Dans Rois, vos i mentez." *Charroi de Nîmes*, 283 (noble to king).—"Seez tres tout, et vous, dans rois." *Flore et Blanche fleur*, 850 (monk to king).—"Autres si ouvrés vus, dans roi." *Sept Sages*, 3904 (counsellor to king).—Further examples occur in *Tristan de Beroul*, 3775;—*Flore et Blanche fleur*, 2761;—*Renart*, X, 1437; I, 1513.

² See chapter on *Sire*. *Danz* alone was never used as a title in direct address, but was always added as a handle to some other name or title.

³ S'escrie: "Dan chevalier." *Pape Gregoire*, 61 (noble to feudal seigneur).—"Dan Brun, por quoi dites vos ce?" *Renart*, XXIII, 402 (noble to noble seigneur).—"Dant chevalier, comment qu'il aille." *Fabliaux*, VI, 85 (noble lady to lover, a feudal seigneur).—"Dans chevaliers, de chi atendre." *Fabliaux*, II, 3 (priest to seigneur).—"A! donz abes, quar nus atent." *St. Brendan*, 455 (monk to abbot).—"Dans abbes," dist il, "estes la?" *Eustache le Moine*, 1747 (monk to abbot).—Further examples occur in *Chev. aux Deux Epées*, 7925;—*Meraugis de Portlesgues*, 5368.

⁴ For a discussion of flattery as a cause for pejorative shifts in the meanings of words, see chapter on *sire*.

who has authority over me,' and became a mere colorless handle of honor to other names or titles.¹

In works of the twelfth and first half of the thirteenth centuries from the North and Center, *danz* was added by inferiors as a handle of honor to the names and titles of nobles and clergymen.² There are no examples after the first half of the thirteenth century.

In texts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from all sections of France except the East, *danz* was added by equals as a handle of honor to the names and titles of nobles and clergymen.³

In works of the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries from the West, North and Center, *danz* was added by superiors as a handle of honor to the names and titles of nobles and clergymen.⁴

B. *Danz* used as a Title for the *Bourgeoisie*.

Since, by the thirteenth century, *danz* had lost all its original meaning, 'he who has authority over me,' and had become

¹ *Danz* was probably first used as a colorless handle of honor between the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Like all titles, *danz* often lost the idea of honor conveyed and weakened to a mere colorless handle like *monsieur*.

² "Dant prestre, vos irez ariere." *Fabliaux*, VI, 44 (peasant to priest).—"Danz chevalier, se Deus me gart." *Meraugis de Portlesgues*, 5011 (young girl to noble).—"Danz chevalier," fait la pucelle. *Fabliaux*, VI, 143 (servant girl to noble).

³ "Comment," fet ele, "dant Renart." *Renart*, 1100 (noble woman to noble friend).—"Dans chevaliers, se Dex me saut." *Floriant et Florette*, 1815 (noble to noble of equal rank).—"Dan clers, dites votre sauter." *Renart*, V, 170 (noble to priest).—Further examples of its use occur in *Fabliaux*, VI, 146;—*Romanzen*, 46, 33;—*Renart*, XII, 469;—*Eustache le Moine*, 490;—*Fabliaux*, V, 193, 194, 229;—*Fabliaux*, IV, 209.

⁴ "Chertes, dant chevalier, tant sui je plu sires." *Fierebras*, 138 (emperor to noble).—"Comment, dam Gilemar, alez vos la peschant?" *Maugis d'Aigremont*, 4823 (noble to noble of inferior rank).—"Dan chapelain, lisiez le brief." *Tristan de Beroul*, 2547 (king to chaplain).—"Daun veylard moyne, avez vus veu nuls?" *Fitz Warren*, 61 (noble to priest of low rank).—"Dan Guillem, alés le vestir." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A, VI, 1287 (abbot to monk).

a mere colorless handle of honor, it was natural that it should have been adopted by the *bourgeoisie*.

Consequently, in texts of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries from the West, North and Center, *danz* was used by inferiors and equals as a title for bourgeois.¹ There is also an example of *danz* added by a noble as a handle to the name of a bourgeois,² showing how greatly the title had shifted in meaning and sunk in honor.

C. *Danz* used as a Handle to Titles that Convey an Insult.

In works of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries from all sections of France except the East, *danz* was frequently added by a speaker to the name or title of a hearer whom he desired to insult, or to some opprobrious epithet by which the insult was conveyed.³ In these cases, of which *danz par-*

¹ "Haro, dant Hue," dit la dame. *Fabliaux*, VI, 125 (bourgeois woman to husband).—"Alez," fet il, "dant Beranger." *Fabliaux*, I, 284 (priest to ox driver).—"Ha, dans vilains de pute foi." *Fabliaux*, IV, 177 (forester to bourgeois).—"Dans vilains, encor avrez pis." *Fabliaux*, IV, 175 (provost to villager).

² "Danz mariner, a qy dount est cele nef?" *Fitz Warren*, 84 (noble to sailor).

³ S'escrie: "Dan chevalier." *Pape Gregoire*, 61 (noble to noble whom he is about to attack).—"Par Deu," fet il, "danz gloz, vos i mentez." *Prise d'Orange*, 682 (noble to noble whom he is about to attack).—"Or sus," fait ele, "danz vileins." *Renart*, I, 2727 (wife to noble with whom she is angry).—"Danz rois, tenés vostre." *Renart*, I, 1513 (noble defying king).—"Ahi, ahi, dans pautonniers." *Eustache le Moine*, 1104 (noble to monk whom he dislikes).—"Dans prestres, ke vous fustes nes!" *Fabliaux*, IV, 30 (landlord to priest whom he dislikes).—"Ha, dans vilains de pute foi." *Fabliaux*, IV, 177 (forester to villager).—"Dans vilains, encor avrez pis." *Fabliaux*, IV, 175 (provost to villager).—"Puis li a dit: "dant Amile, fox sors." *Amis et Amiles*, 1488 (noble to noble with whom he is angry).—"Danz chevaliers, c'est chose outree." *Meraugis de Portlesgues*, 1615 (noble girl to noble with whom she is angry).—"En charité, danz prestres fous." *Fabliaux*, V, 167 (servant to priest with whom she is angry).—"Daunz chevalier, parler vos di." *Romanzen*, 46, 33 (noble girl to noble).—"Que vus est, daun rybant?" *Fabliaux*, II, 246 (king to *jongleur* with whom he is angry).—"Par Dieu," dit il, "dan

toniers, *danz gloz*, *danz rois*, and *danz cuens* are examples, the actual meaning of *danz* is difficult to determine. It certainly did not convey respect or honor, and must probably be considered as a derisive or sarcastic handle similar to "sir" in the Old-English titles "sir fool" or "sir knave."

Conclusions as to the Use of *Danz* as a Title in Direct Address.

1. Prior to the eleventh century, *danz* signified 'he who has authority' and was used as a designation for a king only. On the introduction of the feudal system, *danz*, added to the name of the property over which the seigneur held sway, was employed as a designation for a feudal overlord. Also, in addressing these seigneurs, it became the custom to prefix *danz* as a handle of honor to their Christian names or to their territorial titles.

2. From being added to the names and titles of kings and feudal seigneurs, who, by virtue of authority over some territorial division, were entitled to such a handle of honor, *danz*, because of the universal desire of men to flatter their fellows, was added to the names and titles of men who did not possess authority over any territory and who, therefore, were not entitled to such a designation. In this use, *danz* was a mere colorless handle of honor.

3. This misapplication of *danz* was first made by servants and dependents. However, *danz* soon came to be employed by any person as a colorless handle for any noble or bourgeois whom the speaker desired to honor or flatter.

4. In texts of all periods and from all sections of France except the East, *danz* was used as a title in direct address.

soucretain." *Fabliaux*, VI, 127 (priest to priest whom he has found drunk).—"Dans chevaliers, de chi atendre." *Fabliaux*, II, 53 (priest to noble telling him to look elsewhere for shelter).—"Dans chevaliers, se Dex me saut," *Floriant et Florette*, 1815 (noble to noble he is attacking).—"Dan Moignes, ne vos partirai II geus." *Fabliaux*, II, 121 (noble to monk with whom he is angry).—"Daun sarazyn, non estes." *Fitz Warren*, 105 (Christian noble to Saracen noble).

5. By the first half of the thirteenth century, *danz* had ceased to be employed as a title for kings. By the second half of the thirteenth century, *danz* had ceased to be employed by inferiors as a title for nobles of superior rank. By the first half of the fourteenth century, *danz* had ceased to be used by nobles as a title for their equals. In the first half of the fourteenth century, *danz* was used by the nobility and clergy as a title for their inferiors only, for nobles of low rank and for bourgeois. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, *danz* was used by bourgeois as a title for their fellows.

6. Therefore, in proportion as *danz* became more and more employed as a title for nobles of low rank and for bourgeois, it was less and less used as a title for kings, emperors and nobles of high rank.

7. A pejorative shift in the meaning and use of the word consequently occurred, and *danz* shifted from being a handle of great honor to being a handle of condescending good will, added to the names and titles of inferiors.

8. In texts of all periods and from all sections of France except the East, *danz* was added as a derisive or sarcastic handle to the names or injurious titles of persons whom it was desired to insult.

CHAPTER IX.

DAME AND ITS COMPOUNDS.

SECTION I.

DAME.

A. *Dame* used as a Title for the Nobility.

1. AS USED IN THE "NORMAL" MEANING, 'SHE WHO HAS AUTHORITY.'

In the earliest Old French, *dame*¹ signified 'she who has authority' and was employed as a designation for a queen only.² On the introduction of the feudal system, its use was extended to designate the wife of any feudal seigneur who had authority over persons or property. Since the supreme *dame* was still the queen or empress, the wives of feudal overlords were always spoken of as the *dame de X* . . . , the county, château, town, or other territorial division, over which their husbands had authority being specifically mentioned.³ In addressing or speaking of these wives of feudal overlords, it became the custom to add *dame* as a handle of honor to their Christian names and to their titles, and, finally, to address them as *dame* alone.⁴

¹ For the meaning of Low Latin *domina*, see Du Cange, *Glossarium*, Vol. III, under *domina*.

² Promittimus etiam nos curatores et factures, quod carissima consors, nostra domina Elizabeth, regina Romanorum illustris præmissis omnibus. *Charta Alberti*, in *Reg. Pater Cam. Comput.* Paris fo. 1732 (D. C.).

³ Jehanne de France, contesse de Roussillon, dame de Valoignes *Chartres du Seigneur d'Affremont*, B. E. C. Vol. 35, p. 711.

⁴ See examples quoted in discussion of *dame* as a title in direct address (*infra*).

In texts of all periods, from all sections of France, *dame* in the meaning, 'she who has authority,' was used by persons of all classes and ranks of society, as a title of great respect for queens.¹ It was also employed for princesses, to whom, by courtesy, was attributed an authority which they did not actually possess, and a title which rightfully belonged to their mothers only.²

In works of the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, from all sections of France, *dame* in the meaning, 'she who

¹ Dist Clariens: "Dame, ne parlez tant." *Roland*, 2724 (noble to his queen).—Dist Guillins: "Dame, bien en parlastes." *Prise d'Orange*, 1371 (noble to queen).—"Dame," dit Brengrain, "morte sui." *Tristan de Thomas*, 1269 (lady in waiting to queen).—"Dame," fet il, "s'il vos remembre." *Erec*, 1114 (seneschal to queen).—"Dame," dist il, "je vous plevi." *Sept Sages*, 1727 (noble to queen).—"Dame," dist li preudhom, "ja nen ert trestorné." *Chev. au Cygne*, 151 (servant to queen).—"Dame, Sones sui appiellés." *Sone de Noiey*, 2977 (noble to queen).—"Dame, trop sui dolente, par le cors St. Richier." *Berte*, 312 (servant to queen).—"Dame, comment ferons nous ce?" *Joinville*, 218 (noble to queen).—Further examples are to be found in *Tristan de Beroul*, 3317, 4254;—*Marie de France*, *Lanval*, 293;—*Thebes*, 407;—*Fabliaux*, III, 9, 248;—*Erec*, 234, 1202;—*Guillaume d'Angleterre*, 3237;—*Renart*, I, 1443; XI, 2357;—*Alexandre*, 221;—*Naiss. de Chev. au Cygne*, 1405;—*Durmart le Gauois*, 4558, 11342;—*Escoufle*, 1460;—*Berte*, 1758;—*Floriant et Florette*, 437;—*H. Capet*, 1612;—*Tristan de Thomas*, 870;—*Chev. aux Deux Epées*, 2838;—*Amis et Amiles*, 841;—*Flore et Jehanne* (O. F. N.), 120;—*Salu d'Amour*, 311.

² "Dame, mult estes bele, estes fille de rei." *Pelerinage de Charlemagne*, 717 (noble to princess; spoken of as a pucelle).—"Dame," fet il, "grant gré vus sai." *Marie de France*, *Eliduc*, 519 (noble to princess; she is a virgin).—"Dame," se dist li dus, "dus sui de Normandie." *Fierebras*, 2781 (noble to princess: she is unmarried).—"Dame, mors est vos freres, qui tant vous a amé." *Fierebras*, 2050 (noble lady to princess; she is unmarried).—"Dame, laissiéme ester, perdus sui sans confesse." *Elie de St. Gille*, 1425 (noble to princess; she is unmarried and a virgin).—"Dame, si comme Amors destine." *Floriant et Florette*, 3822 (girl in waiting to princess; she is unmarried).—"Oïl, dame," dist il, "car je le vous affie." *Bast. de Bouillon*, 1964 (noble to princess; she is unmarried).—Further examples are found in *Aimeri de Narbonne*, 3286;—*Emp. Cons.* (O. F. N.) 27, 23;—*H. Capet*, 3750;—*Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VI, 443;—*Marie de France*, *Eliduc*, 450.

has authority,'¹ was used by persons of all classes and ranks of society as a title for the wives of feudal seigneurs.²

2. DAME USED IN THE "TRANSFERRED" MEANING, 'MY LADY.'

As was noted in the use of *danz* in reference to men, so *dame* was often employed for women who were not entitled, by virtue of being the wife of some feudal seigneur, to such an appellative. By this misuse of the title, the speaker flattered³ the vanity of the woman addressed, by inferring that she was the equal in rank of those women who were entitled to be addressed as *dame*.⁴ Until the first half of the thirteenth century, however, *dame* was employed as a title for women of the nobility only, and was never used as a title for the *bourgeoisie*, or for the lower classes of society. Therefore, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries,⁵

¹ Because of its frequent use as a colorless title of honor for any woman, equivalent to the Modern French *madame*, *dame*, in most cases, lost much of its original meaning, 'she who has authority.' When employed as a title for queens and for the wives of feudal seigneurs, however, it always retained at least a shade of this original meaning.

² "Dame, que vos est avenu?" *Pape Gregoire*, 73 (seneschal to noble lady).—"Dame," fet cil ki l'aporta. Marie de France, *Milun*, 211 (esquire to noble lady).—"Dame, por quoi tardez vos tant?" *Erec*, 2675 (valet to noble lady).—"Certes, dame," fait il, "öil." *Jehan et Blonde*, 598 (esquire to noble lady).—"Dame," respondi Brun, "de vostre courtoisie." *Brun de la Mont.*, 3606 (noble esquire to noble lady).—Further examples occur in Marie de France, *Fraigne*, 107;—*Sept Sages*, 2551;—*Fabliaux*, I, 181;—*Raoul de Cambrai*, 170;—*Fabliaux*, I, 18; II, 99; III, 132; V, 152; VI, 27, 83;—*Romansen* 3, 23;—*Bast. de Bouillon*, 6493.

³ For a discussion of flattery as an element in the pejorative shift of words, see chapter on *sire*.

⁴ The speaker may have used *dame* in the meaning, 'she who has authority over me,' flattering the hearer by attributing to her a fictitious authority over him.

⁵ Because of a more pronounced tendency to flatter women, this misapplication occurred sooner in the case of *dame* than in the case of *danz*. It had already taken place by the time of the *Roland*, as there are several examples in that work of *dame* employed as a designation for any noble woman.

dame designated 'any noble woman,'¹ and, when used as a title in direct address, was a colorless term equivalent to the English 'my lady,'² formerly employed as a title for any member of the upper classes of English society.³

In works of the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from all sections of the territory except the East, *dame* in the meaning 'my lady' was used by nobles, clergymen, and bourgeois, as a title for noble ladies who were not entitled, by virtue of being the wife of a seigneur, to be addressed as *dame* in the signification, 'she who has authority.'⁴

It has been said⁵ that *dame*, while chiefly employed as a title for the wives of feudal seigneurs, was occasionally used for princesses, to whom, by courtesy, was attributed an authority that they did not actually possess and a title that rightfully belonged to their mothers only. Likewise, *dame* in the meaning, 'a noble lady,' while usually employed as a title for married wo-

¹ See *Roland*, 3708.

Vous donrez ung tres bel soupper a plusieurs chevaliers, dames, et demoiselles, de la court. *Petit J. de Saintre*, 172 (S. P.).

² See *infra*, p. 121.

³ In the thirteenth century, *dame* came to be frequently used as a title for women of the *bourgeoisie*. Because of this misuse, *dame* soon became a colorless title for any woman, and equivalent to Modern French *madame*. Since, in the texts consulted for this study, there are, however, no examples in which the word is used by a noble as a title for a bourgeois woman, *dame*, from the standpoint of a noble speaker, probably retained throughout the Middle Ages at least a shade of its earlier meaning, 'a noble lady.'

⁴ "Dame," fait il, "un fis avés." *Pape Gregoire*, 20 (noble to noble lady, his friend).—Demandai li: "Dame, feme, que quiers?" *Charroi de Nîmes*, 566 (noble to noble lady friend).—"Dame," ce dist Rollans, "or ne vous demandés." *Fierebras*, 3382 (noble to noble woman, wife of his friend).—"Dame, la vostre grant merci." *Chev. aux Deux Épées*, 4872 (noble to noble lady, his friend).—Dist l'abbes: "Dame, vous parlés en pardon." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 7324 (abbot to noble lady).—"Dame, toute vois vous conseille." *Rose*, 17251 (priest to noble lady).—Dit: "Dame, de par moi il sera estrinés." *Brun de la Mont*, 956 (noble lady to her friend, a noble lady). Further examples occur in *Romansen*, 36, 7; 47, 8;—*Rose*, 4177;—*Fabliau*, II, 185; III, 270; V, 35; VI, 83.

⁵ See *supra*, p. 115.



men of the nobility, was occasionally used as a title for a noble girl, to whom, as a mark of great respect and courtesy, was given a title that rightfully belonged to an older lady only.

In Old-French texts, there are also numerous examples in which a noble meets a young woman of whose position and circumstances in life he is completely ignorant. Not knowing whether the woman in question is married or single, the speaker of the Middle Ages, like his modern descendant, chose the safe way and addressed her as *dame*, a title in every way more respectful than *damoisele*.¹

In works of the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from the West, North and Center, *dame* was used by persons of all classes and ranks as a title of great respect for noble girls² and for young women who were strangers to the speaker.³

¹ In Old French, while *dame* seems to have had a tendency to be used as a designation for a married woman, as contrasted with *damoisele*, the designation for a girl, there seems to have been no hard and fast distinction between the use of these words. Therefore, although we read (*Erec*, 2107) that, after passing the first night with her husband, a girl *ot perdu le non de pucelle*, *Au matin fu dame*, and that (*Marie de France*, *Guigemar*, 54) *Suz ciel n'ont dame ne pucelle*, *Ki tant par fust noble ne belle*, yet, we find numerous examples in which *dame* is used as a title for young girls and frequent examples in which *damoisele* is used as a designation for married women. See *infra*.

² Dist B.: "Dame, n'estes mie senec." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 5729 (noble to young girl whom he has asked to marry him; he also addresses her as *damoiselle*).—Et dist: "Dame, l'essaieroie." *Chev. aus Deus Épées*, 1365 (noble to young girl friend of twenty years of age).—"Certes, dame," fait il, "ëil." *Jehan et Blonde*, 598 (servant to young girl of eighteen years).—"Dame, par Dieu le sauveor." *Floriant et Florette*, 1656 (noble to young girl).—"Dame," ce li dit Bruns, "pour Dieu, or m'escoutés." *Brun de la Mont.*, 3886 (noble to young girl).—Further examples occur in *Durmart le Gaulois*, 6918;—*Huon de Bordeaux*, 4813;—*Meraugis de Portlesguez*, 1602;—*Fabliaux*, IV, 209; V, 152.

³ "Dame," fait il, "ne me celez." *Thebes*, 3899 (noble to noble young girl, a stranger to him).—"Dame," fait il, "ce que sera." *Troie*, 4671 (noble to noble lady, with whom he has just become acquainted).—"Dame," fet il, "por Deu vos pri." *Erec*, 4691 (noble to noble lady whom he meets wandering in the forest).—"Dame, qui a ocis ci si villainement?" *Brun de la Mont.*, 758 (noble to noble lady, a stranger, whom he meets in the

3. DAME USED AS A TITLE FOR A WIFE OR A SWEETHEART.

From a lover's viewpoint, the original meaning of *dame*, 'she who has authority over me,' exactly expressed the relation in which he stood, or imagined that he stood, to his lady love. In texts of the Early Period, the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from all sections of France, *dame* in this meaning¹ was used by kings and nobles of all ranks as a title for their wives, sweethearts, and mistresses.²

4. DAME USED AS A TITLE FOR A MOTHER.

From a son's or a daughter's standpoint, the original meaning of *dame* exactly expressed the relation in which their mother

forest).—Further examples occur in Marie de France, *Eliduc*, 1071;—*Naiss. du Chev. au Cygne*, 201;—*Raoul de Cambrai*, 6697;—*Fabliaux*, VI, 75;—*Romanzen*, 37, 41.

¹ It is doubtful whether *dame*, used as a title for lady loves, long maintained this meaning, 'she who has authority.' As in the case of the other uses of the word, *dame* probably soon came to signify simply 'my lady.'

² "Dame, vëistes unkes rei nul de desuz ciel." *Pelerinage de Charlemagne*, 9 (emperor to wife).—"Dame," fait il, "merveille ai grant." *Pape Gregoire*, 75 (count to wife).—"Dame," fet il, "jeo vois tuz nuz." Marie de France, *Bisclavret*, 70 (noble to wife).—"Dame por quoi vos escondites." *Erec*, 2528 (noble to wife).—"Dame," dist il, "mort sont en Aliscans." *Aliscans*, 1849 (count to wife).—"Dame," dist il, "jel voel veoir." *Sept Sages*, 4420 (duke to wife).—"Dame, je ne puis oblier." *Durmart le Gaulois*, 251 (prince to lady love).—"Dame, ce cuers qui ne ment mie." *Conte d'Amours*, 61 (noble to lady love).—"Dame," dist il, "se Diex me voie." *Rose*, 17366 (noble to wife).—"Dame," dist li bastars, "parlés a vo baron." *Bast. de Bouillon*, 5915 (noble to wife).—"Dame," dit il, "Maugis, por voir le vos creant." *Maugis d'Aigremont*, 3240 (king to wife).—Further examples occur in Marie de France, *Fraigne*, 45;—Marie de France, *Equitan*, 173;—Marie de France, *Guigemar*, 513;—*Guillaume d'Angleterre*, 221;—*Renart*, I, 2667; XI, 2980;—*Sept Sages*, 782;—*Fabliaux*, II, 107, 225;—*Raoul de Cambrai*, 7597;—*Naiss. du Chev. au Cygne*, 513;—*Amis et Amiles*, 2070;—*Romanzen*, 62, 11;—*Fabliaux*, III, 43; V, 166; VI, 27; 107;—*Comtesse de Ponthieu*, (O. F. N.) 167;—*Romanzen*, 44, 22;—*Jehan et Blonde*, 197;—*Pastorellen*, II, 38, 21;—*Bast. de Bouillon*, 1916;—*Maugis d'Aigremont*, 1422;—*Brun de la Mont.*, 572;—*Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VI, 552; B. XII, 1.

stood to them. In texts of the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from all sections of the territory, *dame* in the meaning, 'she who has authority over me,' was used by nobles as a title for their mothers and mothers-in-law.¹

B. *Dame* used as a Title for the *Bourgeoise*.

The first use of *dame* as an appellative for a woman of the *bourgeoisie* was probably that in which a bourgeois employed the word as a title for his sweetheart or wife.² Subsequently, it came to be employed by servants and dependents as a title for their bourgeois mistresses.³ By this use, the servant not only called up the fact that he was under the authority of the hearer, but also flattered her by inferring that she was the equal of a noble lady. Finally, *dame* came to be universally employed by bourgeois as a title of great respect for their women friends.⁴

¹ "Dame," dist ele, "jo ai fait si grant perte!" *Alexis*, 148 (daughter-in-law to noble lady).—"Ge l'otroi, dame," dist li rois. *Prise d'Orange*, 1249 (king to his mother-in-law).—"Öil, dame, ceo m'est mult bel." Marie de France, *Fraïse*, 452 (daughter-in-law to noble lady).—"Dame," dist ele, "ou fustes vos alee?" *Aliscans*, 2816 (daughter to queen). "Dame," fait il, "dex vos otroit." *Durmart le Gauois*, 15348 (queen to mother).—"Dame," dist Hues, "si me puist Dix edier." *Huon de Bordeaux*, 364 (son to duchess).—"Dame, jel vous dirai: puis que ele ot seu." *Berte*, 1913 (king to mother-in-law).—"Dame," fet il, "entendez ça." *Floriant et Florette*, 771 (noble to mother).—Further examples occur in *Raoul de Cambrai*, 1022, 8551;—*Chev. aux Deux Epées*, 7144;—*Durmart le Gauois*, 755, 15377;—*Romanzen*, 2, 14;—*Fabliaus*, I, 222;—*Sone de Noissey*, 3400;—*Berte*, 76;—*Bast. de Bouillon*, 6450.

² The original meaning of *dame*, 'she who has authority over me,' explained the relation in which a bourgeois as well as a noble stood, or supposed themselves to stand, to their wives or lady-loves. See *supra*, p. 119.

In the works consulted for this study, the earliest examples of this use belong to the second half of the twelfth century.

³ For a discussion of the flattery of servants as an element in producing pejorative shifts of meaning, see chapter on *sire*. In the works consulted for this study, the earliest example of the use of *dame* by servants as a title for a bourgeois woman belongs to the first half of the fourteenth century.

⁴ For a discussion of this shift in the use of *dame*, see chapter on *sire*. In the texts consulted for this study, *dame* is never employed by

In this use, *dame* was a colorless title for any woman, equivalent to Modern French '*madame*.'¹

In works of the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from the West, North and Center, *dame* was used by bourgeois as a title for their mothers, wives and sweet-hearts.²

In texts of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries from the North and Center, *dame* was used by servants, dependents and equals as a title for bourgeois women.³

nobles as a title for bourgeois women. This would tend to show that, from the standpoint of the noble, *dame* still retained much of the meaning, 'a noble lady.' In the texts consulted for this study, the first example of *dame* used by bourgeois as a title for their women friends belongs to the first half of the thirteenth century.

¹ *Dame*, in many cases, came to be equivalent to *femme*.

² "Voluntiers, *dame*," il li respunt. Marie de France, *Fables*, XLV, 49 (bourgeois to wife).—Dist Garins: "Dame, por Diu, or m'entendés." *Huon de Bordeaux*, 2902 (sailor to wife).—"Ha, *dame*," fet il, "mout me poise." *Fabliaux*, IV, 167 (provost of village to wife).—"Dame," dist il, "se Dex me saut." *Fabliaux*, III, 49 (peasant to wife).—"Dame," fet il, "se Diex m'ait." *Fabliaux*, I, 233 (smith to wife).—"Dame, foi que je doi saint Gille." *Fabliaux*, I, 310 (lover to bourgeois woman).—"Dame," fet il, "graces vous rent." *Fabliaux*, III, 235 (bourgeois to lady love).—"Dame, foi que je doi Dieu et saint Nicolai." *Berte*, 1394 (peasant girl to mother).—Further examples occur in *Fabliaux*, I, 196, 250, 291; IV, 135, 163; V, 102, 195; VI, 120.

³ "Dame, je sui del bos, si m'en sui departie." *Naiss. du Chev. au Cygne*, 2382 (young girl to bourgeois woman; she is a stranger to her).—En soupirant li a dit: "Dame." *Gautier de Coincy*, 433 (young bourgeois girl to old bourgeois woman whom she is caring for in her illness).—"Dame, j'ai fet vostre commant." *Fabliaux*, IV, 180 (servant to bourgeois woman).—"Dame," fist el, "ge vieng a vos." *Fabliaux*, V, 7 (seamstress to bourgeois woman).—"Dame," dist il "ce sera sens." *Fabliaux*, I, 181 (monk to bourgeois woman).—"Dame, ne vous doins pas mon arc." *Fabliaux*, IV, 169 (forester to bourgeois woman).—"Dame, ce dist chis orinaus." *Jus d'Adam*, 252 (physician to bourgeois woman).—"Dame, a Dieu, cis mox vous vaurra." *Conte de Folle Largesse*, 130 (bourgeois woman to woman neighbor).—"Dame, je vous aim par amor." *Rustebeuf*, II, 127 (priest to bourgeois woman).—"Dame, se Dieu vous gart d'annui." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. I, 374 (bourgeois woman to her neighbor).—Further examples occur in *Fabliaux*, I, 235, 257, 308, 310; II, 11, 39, 238; III, 238, 283; IV, 7, 49, 147, 175, 183; V, 117, 180, 181, 193; VI, 134.

C. *Dame* used as a Title for Nuns.

In works of the thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from the North and Center, *dame* in the meaning, 'my lady,' was used by nobles, bourgeois, and the clergy as a title of great respect for nuns.¹

SECTION II.

DAME USED AS A HANDLE OF HONOR.

Dame was added as a handle of honor ² to the names and titles of those women for whom the word was employed as a title in direct address. In works of the twelfth, thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries from all sections of France, *dame* added to a name or a title was used by persons of all ranks and classes of society as a title for queens,³ wives of feudal seigneurs, noble ladies,⁴ nuns,⁵ and women of the *bourgeoisie*;⁶ also as a term for their wives and sweethearts.⁷

¹ "Dame, bien seiez vous viegnaunt." *Fabliaux*, IV, 130 (bourgeois woman to abbess).—Et si dist: "Dame, ie merci." *Chev. au Deux Épées*, 8449 (noble to abbess).—"Dame," fait il, "en cest saint lieu." *Gautier de Coincy*, 658 (monk to nun).—"Dame, qu'elle est d'enfant ensainte." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. II, 607 (bishop to nun).—"Dame, a vostre commandement." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. II, 34 (nun to abbess).—"Dame, point ne vueil contredire." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. II, 10 (priest to abbess).

² See *supra*, p. 107, note 2.

³ "Dame Rëine," dist li rois Arragans. *Prise d'Orange*, 1233 (noble to queen).—"Valt mienz de vus, dame rëine." Marie de France, *Lanval*, 302 (noble to queen).—"Vos l'avez, dame Ysolt, perdu." *Tristan de Thomas*, 910 (noble to queen).

⁴ "Dame Pinte," fet l'enperere. *Renart*, I, 367 (king to noble lady).—Je li dis lores: "Dame Oiseuse." *Rose*, 625 (noble to noble lady).—"Pour coi le dites vous, dame Hieresent?" *Flore et Jehanne*, 101 (noble girl to noble lady).

⁵ "Alez," fet ele, "dame Eleyne." *Fabliaux*, IV, 131 (nun to nun).—"Alez," fet el, "ma dame Elaine." *Fabliaux*, V, 35 (nun to prioress).—"Dame abbease, il sut que je face." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. II, 985 (bishop to abbess).

⁶ "Ou estes vos," dist il, "dame Ame?" *Renart*, XXI, 69 (bourgeois to

SECTION III.

MA DAME.

To distinguish her from the wives of other feudal seigneurs who were also entitled to the designation *dame*, persons often spoke of or addressed the particular feudal mistress under whose authority they lived as '*ma dame*.'¹ In works of the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from the East, North, and Center, *ma dame* in the meaning, 'she who has authority over me,' was employed by noble followers, servants, bourgeois, and other dependents, as a title for queens, princesses,² and feudal mistresses.³ In the same texts and in the

wife).—"Gabez me vous," fet il, "dame Erme?" *Fabliaus*, IV, 213 (peasant to wife).—"Bien vignoiz vos, dame Auberee." *Fabliaus*, V, 6 (bourgeois woman to her friend).—"En charité, dame Menaut." *Fabliaus*, I, 227 (bourgeois to wife).

¹ "Dame Guiborc, ne me verés entier." *Aliscans*, 125 (noble to wife).—"Dame Guiborc," fet il, "entandez ça." *Aimeri de Narbonne*, 3863 (count to wife).—"Ahi, Ludie, dame, Dieus vous puist craventer." *Bast. de Bouillon*, 6033 (noble to wife).

² "Ma dame la reine dist folie et tort." *Pelerinage de Charlemagne*, 813.—"Et a la reine, ma dame." *Renart*, XIV, 975.—"Ma dame a son oncle bailla." *Miracles de N. Dame*, B. XII, 962 (noble speaking of wife of his feudal overlord).

³ "Öil, ma dame, par ma foi." *Sept Sages*, 3129 (servant to queen).—"Oje, certes, ma dame, Dex en soit graciés." *Naiss. du Chev. au Cygne*, 1917 (servant to queen).—"Vos estes, ma dame, m'amie." *Escoufle*, 2362 (noble to princess).—"Mais s'il vous plaist, ma dame, une cose ferés." *H. Capet*, 762 (noble to queen).—Further examples occur in *Naiss. du Chev. au Cygne*, 1521;—*Chev. aux Deux Epées*, 2511;—*Amis et Amiles*, 640;—*Emp. Cons. (O. F. N.)*, 22;—*Bast. de Bouillon*, 2434;—*Miracles de N. Dame*, A. IV, 1054.

⁴ "Öil, ma dame," li vallés respondi. *Raoul de Cambrai*, 6312 (esquire to noble lady).—"Mes dames, il convient que vous aiez porté." *Brun de la Mont.*, 2387 (herald to noble ladies).—"Ma dame, sanz plus séjourner." *Miracles de N. Dame*, B. XII, 230 (young girl to marquise).—"Ma dame, a vostre doulx plaisir." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. IV, 217 (servant to noble lady).—Further examples occur in *Romanzen*, 4, 17;—*Brun de la Mont.*, 1501;—*Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VII, 822.

same meaning, *ma dame* was used by nobles as a title for their wives, sweethearts,¹ and mothers.²

A favorite method of flattery has ever been for the speaker to attribute to the hearer an authority over him that the hearer did not actually possess.³ Therefore, *ma dame* was used⁴ by nobles as a title for noble women who did not actually possess authority over them. In this misuse, *ma dame* lost its original meaning, 'she who has authority over me,' and came to mean 'my honored lady.' In texts of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries from the North and Center, *ma dame* was employed by nobles and clergymen as a title of great respect and honor for noble ladies and nuns.⁵ Unlike *dame*, it was never used as a title for young girls.

It must be noted that, in all the texts consulted for this study, there is not a single example of *ma dame* used as a title for a bourgeois woman. Therefore, while *dame* before the fourteenth century had, in many cases, become a colorless designa-

¹ "Ma dame, en France me fu dou roi donés." *Aliscans*, 4114 (count to wife).—"Ma dame, a Deu vus cumand." *Fabliaux*, II, 227 (priest to lady love).—"Et si que je vous aim, ma dame, si m'amés." *Brun de la Mont.*, 3907 (noble to lady love).—"Butor li respondi: "Ma dame, je donray?" *Brun de la Mont.*, 2572 (noble to wife).—Further examples occur in *Fabliaux*, II, 225; VI, 25, 139;—*Bast. de Bouillon*, 1907.

² "Ma dame, enfin m'avés honnie." *Sept Sages*, 2493 (noble lady to her mother).—"Mercie, ma dame, por Dieu qui ne menti." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 981 (son to countess).—"Ha, madame," fait ele, "se saviez orendroit." *Berte*, 755 (noble woman to mother).—"Ma dame, c'avez vous? ditez, pour Dieu merci." *H. Capet*, 2407 (daughter to queen).—Further examples occur in *Romanzen*, 6, 8;—*Rose*, 16773.

³ For a discussion of this point, see chapter on *sire*.

⁴ In the works consulted for this study, the earliest example of *ma dame* in this use occurs in texts of the first half of the thirteenth century.

⁵ "Oil, ma dame, por sainte loiauté." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 4109 (noble to sister-in-law).—"Ma dame, pour Dieu, mierchi." *Flore et Jehanne*, 105 (noble to noble, wife of his friend).—"Madame, quant vous m'enseigniés." *Rose*, 15554 (noble to noble lady).—"Ma dame, il me dira plainement son vouloir." *Brun de la Mont.*, 3775 (noble to noble lady friend).—"Certes, vous dites voir, ma dame." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VII, 80 (nun to abbess). Further examples occur in *Fabliaux*, II, 227;—*Miracles de N. Dame*, A. II, 199.

tion for any woman,¹ *ma dame* still retained the conceptions of respect and honor that *dame* had possessed in the second half of the twelfth century.² At a date later than the first half of the fourteenth century, *dame* became so colorless a word that it carried with it no respect and fell into disuse as a title in direct address. When this occurred, *ma dame*, which had retained its original conceptions of honor, was substituted for *dame*.³

It must also be noted that, toward the end of the period treated by this monograph, there seems to have been a tendency to fuse *ma dame* into one word.⁴

SECTION IV.

BELE DAME.

In texts of the second half of the twelfth, the thirteenth, and the first half of the fourteenth centuries from the West, North, and Center, *bele* ⁵ *dame* was frequently used by persons of all classes and ranks of society as a title for queens, feudal mistresses, and noble ladies, for wives and sweethearts.⁶

¹ It has been noted that, in many cases, *dame* became the equal of *femme*. See *supra*, p. 121, note 1.

² See *supra*, p. 116.

³ This substitution occurred after the period treated by this study; as, until the second half of the fourteenth century, *dame* still continued to be used as a title for women of the nobility.

⁴ See examples cited from texts of the second half of the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth centuries, in which *ma dame* is written as one word.

⁵ *Bele* soon became a colorless epithet added to *dame*, and the meaning of the combination differed in no way from that of the parent word. See *supra*, p. 37, note 1.

⁶ "Bele dame," fet il, "ne vus unke pis." *Alexandre*, 184 (astronomer to queen).—Si dis a Amours: "Bele dame." *Salu d'Amours*, 195 (noble to queen).—"Bele dame, por Dieu merci." *Ille et Galeron*, 1743 (chamberlain to noble mistress).—"Beles dames, s'il vous plaisoit." *Jus d'Adam*, 834 (noble lady to noble ladies).—"L'ay je desservi, belle dame?" *Miracles de N. Dame*, B. XII, 662 (marquis to wife).—Further examples occur in *Floriant et Florette*, 1394;—*Tristran de Thomas*, 3060;—*Romanzen*, 49, 31;—*Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VII, 901.

SECTION V.

CHIERE DAME.

In texts of the second half of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries from the North and Center, *chiere*¹ *dame* was used by persons of all classes and ranks of society as a title for queens, noble ladies, bourgeois women, and nuns, for wives, sweethearts, and mothers.²

SECTION VI.

DOUCE DAME.

In works of the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from all sections of France, *douce*³ *dame* was used by persons of all classes and ranks of society as a title for queens, princesses,⁴ feudal mistresses, noble ladies,⁵ noble

¹In the texts consulted for this study, the earliest example of *chiere* *dame* belongs to the second half of the thirteenth century. *Chiere* soon became a colorless epithet added to *dame*, and the meaning of the combination differed in no way from that of the parent word. See *supra*, p. 60. Many of the compounds of *dame* were probably first used as titles for the Virgin Mary.

²Et ly dist: "Chiere dame, a vo mant cy me tray." *H. Capet*, 2455 (noble to queen).—"Certes," fait il, "ma dame chiere." *Rose*, 13516 (noble to noble woman).—Et li dit bien et bel: "Chiere dame au cors gent." *Brun de la Mont.*, 2092 (servant to noble woman).—Si li a dit: "Ma chiere dame." *Fabliaux*, IV, 160 (bourgeois to mother-in-law).—"En foutant, voir, ma chere dame." *Fabliaux*, III, 121 (noble to bourgeois woman).—"Chiere dame, avancier vous faut." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. II, 272 (nun to abbess).—"Et si ovres, ma dame chiere." *Salu d'Amours*, 229 (noble to lady love).—"Ma chiere dame, il nous convient." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. I, 522 (noble to wife).—Further examples occur in *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VI, 449, 793; B. XII, 1362.

³In the works consulted for this study, the earliest example of *douce* *dame* belongs to the first half of the twelfth century. *Douce* soon became a colorless epithet added to *dame*, and the meaning of the combination differed in no way from that of the parent word.

⁴"Ma douce dame, grans mercis." *Chev. aus Deus Epées*, 9044 (noble

girls,¹ and bourgeois women,² for wives, sweethearts³ and mothers.⁴

SECTION VII.

MISCELLANEOUS COMPOUNDS OF DAME.

In the texts consulted for this study, there are not more than three examples of the following compounds of *dame* used as titles in direct address.

Bone Dame.

"Vous, bones dames, enblasmees." *Gautier de Coincy*, 457 (monk to noble ladies).

to queen).—Fait li quens: "Douce dame chiere." *Escoufle*, 1418 (noble to empress).—"Douce dame, se Dex me voie." *Floriant et Florette*, 1508 (a noble stranger to a queen).—"Douce dame, se Dex m'aïst." *Floriant et Florette*, 4518 (esquire to princess).—Further examples occur in *Chev. au Cygne*, 1614;—*Floriant et Florette*, 2474, 3312.

¹"Ne vous connois, ma douce dame." *Gautier de Coincy*, 262 (noble young girl to noble lady).—"De Dieu, douce dame, et de nos." *Escoufle*, 5782 (young girl of the working classes to noble lady).—"Car, douce dame deboinaire." *Salu d'Amours*, 1008 (noble to noble lady).

²Ains dist: "Grans mercis, dame douce." *Jehan et Blonde*, 1288 (esquire to his mistress, young girl of eighteen years).—"Douce dame, a Dieu vos comant." *Meraugis de Portlesgues*, 450 (noble to noble girl).

³"Dieus soit a vos, ma douce dame." *Fabliaux*, V, 6 (seamstress to bourgeois woman).—"Ma douce dame, alez laver." *Fabliaux*, V, 59 (servant to bourgeois).—"Por ce vous di, ma douce dame." *Fabliaux*, I, 180 (priest to bourgeois woman).

⁴"Ma douce dame, je vos pri." *Tristan de Thomas*, 31 (noble to lady love, the wife of a king).—"Douce dame, ancor ne savez." *Erec*, 5852 (noble to his wife).—Renart li a dit: "Douce dame." *Renart*, IX, 1400 (noble to his wife).—"Douce dame, por vostre honor." *Escoufle*, 3432 (noble lover to young princess).—"Mais a coi pensés vous, douché dame, toudis?" *Bast. de Bouillon*, 2436 (king to princess, whom he loves).—"Doce dame," fet il, "ce ne valt .l. boton." *Maugis d'Aigremont*, 1865 (noble to his lady love).—Further examples occur in *Chev. au Cygne*, 4880;—*Durmart le Gaulois*, 5194;—*Fabliaux*, III, 125;—*Conte d'Amours*, 13, 1;—*Jehan et Blonde*, 1288, 1515;—*Floriant et Florette*, 170;—*Fabliaux*, II, 101; V, 256;—*Pastorellen*, II, 40, 52.

"Por Deu, ma doce dame, or pensés de m'amie." *Naiss. du Chev. au Cygne*, 720 (king to his mother).—"Ma douce dame, ne le vos puis noier." *Romanzen*, 2, 19 (noble girl to her mother).

Cointe Dame.

"Cointe dame, noble, et fiere." *Pastorellen*, III, 1, 39 (noble lover to shepherdess).

Dame Debonaire.

"Volantiers, dame debonaire." *Fabliaux*, IV, 3 (priest to mistress).—
"Ha, de ci, dame debonaire." *Bel Desconu*, 248 (girl in waiting to princess).—"Ma chiere dame debonnaire." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. II, 376 (clerc to abbess).

Franche Dame.

"Quar, en pensez, franche dame gentil." *Prise d'Orange*, 1352 (noble to queen).—"Franches dames, franchises pucelles." *Troie*, 2901 (king to noble ladies of court).—Doucement li dist: "Franche dame." *Floriant et Florette*, 149 (seneschal to queen).

Gentile Dame.

"Quaint vos plera, gentil dame, merci." *Prise d'Orange*, 1356 (noble to queen).—Fait la contesse: "Gentils dame." *Escoufle*, 7726 (countess to noble lady).—Et dit: "Dame gentix, pour Dieu, car me tués." *Brun de la Mont.*, 3915 (noble to noble girl he loves).

Dame Honorable.

"D'autre part, dames honorables." *Rose*, 16153 (author to noble ladies).—Adont li dist: "De qui, haute dame honoré." *Brun de la Mont.*, 3747 (noble lady to noble).—"Secourez le, dame honnoree." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. I, 1241 (hermit to Virgin Mary).

Dame Plaisant.

"Si que, dame plaisans, soit vos cuers si senez." *Brun de la Mont.*, 3762 (noble lady to lady friend).

Dame Sage.

Il a dit a s'amie: "Ma doce dame sage." *Maugis d'Aigremont*, 1814 (noble to sweetheart).

CHAPTER X.

DAMOISEAUS AND DAMOISELE.

SECTION I.

DAMOISEAUS.

In its earliest meaning, *damoiseaus*¹ signified 'young master' and was used as a designation for the sons of kings only.² On the introduction of the feudal system, its use was extended to designate the son of any feudal seigneur who had authority over persons or property.³ In addressing or in speaking of these sons of feudal overlords, it became the custom to add *damoiseaus* as a handle of honor⁴ to their names, and finally, to address them as simply *damoiseaus*.

In works of the twelfth century from the Center, *damoiseaus* in the meaning, 'young master,' was used by servants as a title of great respect for a prince.⁵

In texts of the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from the North and Center, *damoiseaus* in the meaning, 'young master,' was used by nobles and bourgeois of all ranks as a title for the sons of feudal seigneurs.⁶

¹The Low Latin *dominicellus* had the same meanings as its French derivative. See Du Cange, *Glossarium*, under *dominicellus*.

²In a formula of Marculf (II, 52) of the seventh century, *domicellus* signified the son of the king. See Du Cange, *Glossarium*, under *dominicellus*. Coroner firent le damoisele Pepin (D. C.)

³Quia, baronum filios vocamus Domicellos, Angli vero nullos nisi natos Regum *Leges Edvardi Confess.*, cap. 35 (D. C.)—Vos estes Aucassins nos damoisiaux." *Aucassin et Nicolette*, 22, 11 (nobles speaking of the son of their seigneur).

⁴See *supra*, p. 107, note 2.

⁵"Damoiseaus, sire, envers moi entendez!" *Charroi de Nîmes*, 1245 (seneschal to prince).—"Damoisiaux, sire, de cui plus vos pleigniez?" *Coronnement Louis*, 1936 (noble to prince).—"Mar vous vëismes, damoisiel." *Sept Sages*, 508 (tutor to prince).

⁶"Aucassins, damoisax, sire," *Aucassin et Nicolette*, 5, 17 (young girl

Because of the speaker's desire to flatter the hearer, *damoiseaus* was often used as a title for young nobles who were not entitled, by virtue of being the sons of feudal seigneurs, to such an appellative.¹ The word, however, was employed as a title for nobles only, and there is not a single example used as a title for bourgeois. In this use, *damoiseaus* lost much of its meaning, 'young master,' and came to signify 'a young noble.'²

In texts of the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from the North and Center, *damoiseaus* in the meaning, 'my young noble sir,' was used by nobles and bourgeois of all ranks as a title for any noble youth.³

In the Early Period, every noble youth aspired to become a *chevaliers*.⁴ Therefore, *damoiseaus*, the word for a noble youth, signified 'he who aspires to become a *chevaliers*,' and was the equivalent of *escuiers*.⁵ Also, when all nobles no longer became *chevaliers*, *damoiseaus*, like *escuiers*, came to designate those members of the nobility who could not afford a full equipment, a noble of a rank lower than that of the *chevaliers*, but higher than that of the simple gentleman. In this use, *damoiseaus* seems to have designated a noble of a rank equal to that of an *escuiers*.⁶

to her young noble lover).—"Damoiseus, mar i fustes; tu eres mes cosins." *Elie de St. Gille*, 239 (young noble to his cousin, a young noble).—"Damoisiaus sire, entendés mon talent." *Ogier*, 806 (emperor to young noble).—Other examples occur in *Ogier*, 77;—*Raoul de Cambrai*, 5640;—*H. Capet*, 3204;—*Brun de la Mont.*, 3555;—*Brun de la Mont.*, 2792.

¹ See *supra*, p. 109.

² Dameisel le servirent. *Roman de Rou*, 3770.

³ "Damoisiax sire, gentix hom." *Flore et Blanchefleur*, 1648 (shipowner to young noble).—"Signor," dist il, "franc damoiseil loial." *Ogier*, 555 (leader to his young noble followers).—"Damoisiaus, sire," dist l'abes au fier vis." *Huon de Bordeaux*, 626 (priest to young noble).—Other examples occur in *Chev. au Cygne*, 3961;—*Naiss. du Chev. au Cygne*, 2900;—*Durmart le Gaulois*, 1975;—*Huon de Bordeaux*, 2701;—*Huon de Bordeaux*, 3115;—*Pastorellen*, III, 26, 27.

⁴ See *supra*, p. 83.

⁵ See chapter on *escuiers*.

⁶ Je Jehans de Vienne, damoiselx, . . . *Ch. de Jehan de Vienne*, Arch. J., 247 (G).—Jou, Jehans d'Avesnes, damoisiaus de Haynnau, faicts savoir . . . *Cartulaire de Hainaut*, p. 365 (ed. Reiffenberg).

SECTION II.

DAMOISELE.

Like *damoiseaus*, *damoisele* originally signified 'young mistress' and was used as a designation for the daughter of kings only.¹ At the introduction of the feudal system, its use was extended to designate the daughter of any feudal seigneur who had authority over persons or property.² In addressing or speaking of the daughters of these feudal overlords, it became the custom to add *damoisele* as a handle of honor³ to their names, and, finally, to address them as simply *damoisele*.⁴

Because of the speaker's desire to flatter the hearer, *damoisele* was often used as a title for noble girls who were not entitled, by virtue of being the daughters of feudal seigneurs, to such an appellative. In this use, *damoisele* lost all its meaning, 'young mistress,' and signified simply 'a noble girl.'⁵

Unlike *damoiseaus*, *damoisele*, in the first half of the thirteenth century, was used as a title for bourgeois girls, showing the greater tendency that existed to flatter women. In this use, *damoisele* became a colorless designation for any girl,⁶ and, when used as a title in direct address, was equivalent to the Modern French *mademoiselle*.⁷

¹ "Damoisele, c'a trop duré." *Ille et Galeron*, 6158 (noble to daughter of his king).

² La demisele de Lancastre, qui est de grant acesment. (*Guillaume le Marechal*, 7308. (ed. Meyer, p. 263).

³ See *supra*, p. 107, note 2.

⁴ "Ma Dame, ou est ma damoisele Agnes, vostre cousine, alee." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. IV, 1054 (speaking of daughter of feudal overlord).—"Damoisele, vos estes prise." *Thebes*, 2171 (noble to daughter of feudal overlord).

⁵ As li Alde venue, une bele damisele. *Roland*, 3708 (O. ms.).

⁶ The meaning 'girl' that *damoisele* had assumed is well shown by the derived word, *damoiselage*, signifying 'the state of being a girl.'

Alix, fille de Jacques de Carbeny, bourgeois de St. Quentin et soer hostaliere de Saint Lazarre, estant en son demiselage. *Act of 1303 apud Colliette, Mem. de Vermand, II*, 310 (D. C.)

⁷ There is, however, not a single example in which *damoisele* is used by a

In texts of the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from all sections of France, *damoisele* was used by kings, nobles, priests, and bourgeois as a title for princesses,¹ for the daughters of feudal overlords, and for noble girls.²

In texts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries from the North and Center, *damoisele* was used by servants and bourgeois as a title for bourgeois girls.³

noble as a title for a bourgeois girl, showing that, from the viewpoint of the nobility, *damoisele* still retained its earlier meanings 'young mistress' and 'a noble girl.'

¹ "Dameisele, a cest chevalier." Marie de France, *Eliduc*, 493 (king to his daughter).—"Dameisele," fet la reine. *Erec*, 155 (queen to princess of other country).—"Damoisele, c'a trop duré." *Ille et Galeron*, 6158 (noble to princess).—Other examples occur in *Naiss. du Chev. au Cygne*, 227;—*Escoufle*, 3629, 3989;—*Bast. de Bouillon*, 2062, 5432.

² "Mais or issez hors, damiseles." *Pape Gregoire*, 72 (noble woman to her girls in waiting, young noble ladies).—"Dameisele, vos estes prise." *Thebes*, 2171 (noble to young girl of noble birth).—"Dameisele, avant vos traiez." *Erec*, 830 (noble to young girl, his sweetheart).—"Damoisele, por sire amor." *Flore et Blanchefleur*, 2401 (one noble girl to another).—"Damoisele, laissez le aler." *Bel Desconu*, 1308 (hunter to noble girl, a stranger, whom he meets in the forest).—"Certes," fait li rois, "damisele." *Durmart le Gaulois*, 10307 (king to noble girl).—"Damoisele, cil qui ne ment." *Escoufle*, 4912 (bourgeois girl to noble girl, whom she accosts in the street).—"Damoisele, non ferai voir." *Robin et Marion*, 380 (noble to shepherdess; he desires her love).—"Damoisele, je vos di bien." *Fabliaux*, IV, 208 (priest to noble girl).—"Que feromes nos, damoisele?" *Floriant et Florette*, 4662 (princess to noble girl in waiting).—"Damoiseles," fet ele, "veez la .l. Babarin." *Maugis d'Aigremont*, 1288 (queen to girls in waiting).—Other examples occur in *Fabliaux*, III, 21;—*Erec*, 4356;—*Pastorellen*, III, 40, 15;—*Fabliaux*, II, 223;—*Bel Desconu*, 304;—*Racul de Cambrai*, 5728;—*Naiss. du Chev. au Cygne*, 288, 2333;—*Chev. aux Deux Epées*, 3178, 4537; *Chev. à l'Épée*, 500;—*Durmart le Gaulois*, 2397;—*Romanzen*, 57, 56;—*Escoufle*, 5764;—*Meraugis de Portlesgues*, 3792;—*Fabliaux*, I, 37; V, 154; VI, 74;—*Fitz Warren*, 91;—*H. Capet*, 434;—*Miracles de N. Dame*, B. XII, 71.

³ "Ha, demoisele, vous peés." *Eustache le Moine*, 1209 (soldier to bourgeois girl).—"Damoisele," ce dist Sueree. *Fabliaux*, III, 80 (bourgeois girl to a girl friend).—"Damoisele, irés ent vos donques?" *Escoufle*, 6065 (bourgeois to young bourgeois girl).—"Danele, fetes cler le feu!" *Fabliaux*, VI, 20 (bourgeois woman to maid servant).—"Damoisele, avés vous mais que faire." *Merlin*, 23 (judge to bourgeois girl).—"Damoisele, et vous en alez." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VII, 824 (bourgeois woman to maid servant).

It has been said that *damoiseaus* signified 'a noble who, in the noble hierarchy, occupied a rank lower than that of a *chevaliers* but higher than that of a simple gentleman.' *Damoisele* was used to designate the wife of this noble.¹

Also analogous to the use of English 'little girl,' *damoisele* in the meaning 'young mistress' was employed by husbands as a love-term for their wives.²

SECTION III.

MA DAMOISELE.

Like *ma dame*,³ *ma damoisele* was originally used as a title for the daughters of kings or feudal seigneurs under whose authority the speaker lived. It then came to be used as a title for any noble girl whom the speaker flattered by attributing to her a fictitious authority over himself. Finally, it came to be employed as a title for bourgeois girls. In the above uses, *ma damoisele* is employed in texts of the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from all sections of the territory.⁴

¹ Ysabel de Combes, *damoiselle vefve de l'age de quatre vins ans . . .* *Reg.* 68. *Chartoph. in reg. ch.* 256 (D. C.)—*Damisele Aeles, dame de Val.* . . . Joinville, *Arch. de St. Homer* (G).

In the texts consulted for this study, there are no examples of *damoisele* used as a title in direct address for the wife of a *damoiseaus*.

² "Hâi! Guibor, contesse, damoisele." *Aliscans*, 755 (count to his wife).—Et il li a dit: "Damoisele." *Renart*, IX, 1108 (peasant to wife).

³ See *supra*, p. 123.

⁴ "Ma damoisele, encore a point." *Escoufle*, 3940 (noble girl to princess).—"Certes, ma damoisele." *Fitz Warren*, 104 (noble to princess).—"Ma damoisele, a cest bliaut." *Erec*, 1635 (queen to noble girl).—"Ma damoisele, cist oisiaus." *Erec*, 807 (noble to young noble girl).—"Ma damoisele, or cha, montés." *Eustache le Moine*, 1201 (soldier to girl of the lower classes of society).—"Or me dites, ma damoisele." *Fabliaux*, V, 28 (peasant to his daughter).—Other examples occur in *Bel Desconu*, 842;—*Durmart le Gaulois*, 3346;—*Fabliaux*, V, 155;—*Sone de Noissey*, 715.

SECTION IV.

MISCELLANEOUS COMPOUNDS OF DAMOISELE.

In the texts consulted for this study, there are not more than two of the following compounds of *damoisele* used as a title in direct address.

Bele Damoisele.

Si li ai dit: "Damoisele bele." *Pastorellen*, III, 48, 4 (noble lover to shepherdess).

Bone Damoisele.

Si li ai dit: "Damoisele bone." *Pastorellen*, III, 48, 4 (noble lover to shepherdess).

Douce Damoisele.

"Bien veignies, doces damoisele." *Durmart le Gaulois*, 1953 (noble to noble girl).—Puis li dist: "Douce damoisele." *Escoufle*, 5038 (noble to noble girl).

Franche Damoisele.

"Damoisele, gentil et franche." *Fabliaux*, I, 36 (noble to sweetheart).—E dit li: "Franche damoisele." *Tristran de Thomas*, 1939 (queen to lady in waiting).

Gentil Damoisele.

"Damoisele gentil et franche." *Fabliaux*, I, 36 (lover to sweetheart).

Haute Damoisele.

"Haute damoisele." *Gautier de Coincy*, 16 (author to Virgin).

Sage Damoisele.

Si li ai dit: "Damoisele, simple et saige." *Pastorellen*, III, 48, 4 (noble lover to shepherdess).

CHAPTER XI.

DOLANZ AND DOLANTE.

DOLEROS AND DOLEROSE.

In texts of the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from the West, North, and Center, *dolanz* and *doleros* signifying 'an unfortunate or miserable man' were employed by kings, priests, nobles, and bourgeois as a title for their fellows in trouble and as a term of pity for themselves whenever they experienced misfortune.¹

In works of the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from the West, North, and Center, *dolante* and *doleroise* were used by queens, noble ladies, and *bourgeoises* as a title for their woman friends in trouble and as a term of pity for themselves whenever they experienced misfortune.²

¹ "Ha! las! dolent! et moi que chaut?" *Tristran de Beroul*, 981 (noble in trouble to himself).—"Ahi!" fait il, "dolenz, chaitis." *Thebes*, 9871 (king in misfortune to himself).—Soventes fois se claimme las, dolant. *Aliscans*, 717 (count in trouble to himself).—"Ha! las!" fait il, "dolenz, chaitis." *Renart*, XVIII, 55 (noble in misfortune to himself).—"He! las! dolens! com fait encontre a chi." *Huon de Bordeaux*, 785 (noble in misfortune to himself).—"Ha! las, dolens, com hés ma vie." *Gautier de Coincy*, 578 (repentant sinner to himself).—"Ahi," font il, "caitif, dolant." *Escoufle*, 188 (townspeople in trouble to themselves).—"He, las, chetiz, dolenz, que porrai devenir." *Miracle de St. Theophile*, 395 (repentant sinner to himself).—"Las, caitis, dolerex, plans d'ire." *Conte d'Amour*, 21, 7 (noble in toils of love to himself).—"Ha, laz," fet il, "dolenz, tant me doi po prisier." *Maugis d'Aigremont*, 4292 (king in misfortune to himself).

² Sovent disoit: "Lasse, dolente." *Tristran de Beroul*, 2201 (queen in misfortune to herself).—"Lasse, dolente, chetive, que feré?" *Aliscans*, 1745 (countess in trouble to herself).—"Ahi! lasse, dolente, u sont or mi enfant?" *Chev. au Cygne*, 265 (queen in misfortune to herself).—"Lasse, dolante, a grant tort l'ai maldi." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 1146 (countess in trouble to herself).—"I. foutre, lasse, doleroise." *Fabliaux*, V, 154 (*bourgeoise* to girl in misfortune).—"Ainmi, lasse, dolente, com mes cors est malmis." *Berte*, 791 (queen in misfortune to herself).—"E! las, doleroise, dolante." *Floriant et Florette*, 3974 (girl in toils of love to herself).

CHAPTER XII.

ESQUIERS.

A. Meaning of *Escuiers*.

It has been said ¹ that, in the early Middle Ages, the sons of nobles ² who had reached the age of thirteen or fourteen years were apprenticed to some seigneur ³ to acquire their warlike education in his *maisniee* and that they served in this *maisniee* until, at about the age of eighteen, they were supposed to be proficient in arms and to be able to become warriors or *chevaliers*. For the first few years of their apprenticeship, the duties of these youths consisted in serving their masters at table and in performing certain other menial tasks necessary for his comfort. Being too immature and too unskilled in the use of arms to take any part in the actual fighting, they occupied rather the positions of servants or domestics. These youths in the first period of their apprenticeship were called *valez*.⁴ After the youth had served several years as a *valet*, however, the young noble became capable of bearing arms ⁵ and was allowed to serve

¹ See chapter on *chevaliers*.

² Except those youths who entered the clergy.

³ This seigneur might be some relative of the youth, or some friend of the family, who took upon himself the task of educating the boy. This is shown by such examples as: C'il qui fu sis escuiers, Fiz sa seur, si est sis niez." *Gormond et Isembart*, 327.—Mon escuier as mort, s'estoit mes frere." *Aiol*, 707.

⁴ In general, *valez*, *bachelers*, *escuiers*, and *enfes* were all used as generic terms for any young noble who had not been armed a chevalier. In particular, however, *valez* and *enfes* were the terms for noble youths in the early stage, *bachelers* and *escuiers* in the later stage, of their apprenticeship.

⁵ Because they did not carry the full equipment, they were considered unarmed. The contrast between *valez* and *escuiers* is brought out in the following examples:

Ne sait vaslet ou esquier. Wace, *Rou*, II, 495.—Vaslet a pié ne esquier. *Ibid.*, 7011.—Ançois que il fust chevaliers, Qu'il fu vallez et escuiers." Gautier de Tournai, *Gilles de Chin*, 28 (ed. Reiffenberg).

beside his master on his warlike enterprises. His chief duties during these latter years of his apprenticeship consisted in caring for his lord's horses and in carrying his helmet, lance, and shield.¹ From the latter function, these young nobles who had reached this stage of their apprenticeship were called *escuiers*.² *Escuiers*, consequently, signified 'a young noble who aspires soon to become a *chevaliers*.'³ Since all young nobles of from fifteen to eighteen years aspired to become *chevaliers*, the word also signified 'a young noble between the ages of fifteen and eighteen.'⁴

It has been said⁵ that, because of the growth of peace and justice in France in the course of the twelfth and of succeeding centuries, it was no longer imperative for the protection of their interests that all nobles should be warriors; that to avoid the heavy expense of such an equipment, many members of the ruling classes of society no longer became armed horsemen; and that *chevaliers* was, therefore, no longer the equivalent of 'a noble' but designated 'the owner of a property of a size sufficient to permit of the luxury of a full equipment.' For a long time, however, it was supposed that nobles who, because of a lack of funds, were unable, for the moment, to support a full equipment would ultimately do so and become *chevaliers*.⁶ They

¹A seigneur usually had many esquires, for it is remarked when he had only one. Si parent tot le blastangierent, Un seul escuier li baille-rent." P. Mousquet, *Chronique Rimée*, 17012 (ed. Reiffenberg.).

²The Latin *scutarius*.

³See *supra*, p. 136, note 5 for contrast between the meanings of *escuiers* and *valez*.

⁴For examples of *escuiers* in these meanings, see examples cited under the use of *escuiers* as a title in direct address, *infra*.

⁵See *supra*, p. 84.

⁶It appears that, at first, all *escuiers* who had not become *chevaliers* were forced to do so whenever their means would allow them to support a full equipment. On this point see *Coutumes de Beauvaisis*, XLIX (ed. Salmon, II, pp. 261 ff). It also seems that, for many years after *chevaliers* was no longer equivalent to 'a noble,' all nobles who could afford to do so became *chevaliers* as is shown by the following example: Et devint li dis escuiers chevaliers pour le grand profit que il eut de son prisonnier le Seigneur de Bereler. Froissart, *Croniques*, I, 391.

were consequently looked upon as aspirants to the rank of *chevaliers*. The word *escuiers* in the meaning, 'he who aspires to become a *chevaliers*,' exactly designated these men, the only difference being that, in the one case, the ineligibility was due to a lack of years, in the other case, to a lack of money or property.¹ Also, when *chevaliers* came to be used as a designation for 'he who, in the noble hierarchy, occupies a rank higher than that of the simple gentleman but lower than that of the *baron*,'² *escuiers* came to signify 'he who, in the noble hierarchy, occupies a rank after that of the *chevaliers*.' As the civilization of the times became more and more developed and as the nobles became subdivided into a hierarchy of ever increasing complexity, those nobles who ranked after the *chevaliers* were further separated into additional ranks and grades. In this additional subdivision, the *escuiers* occupied a rank immediately after that of the *chevaliers*, but before that of the simple gentleman.³ The date of this shift in meaning is uncertain, but it probably occurred at about the same time that *chevaliers* came to be a designation for those nobles who ranked after the *baron*.⁴

¹ Bauduins de Saint Crespin, escuyers, flex jadis monseigneur Guyon de Saint Crespin, chevalier, *Cartulaire de la Seigneurie de Offemont*, *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, Vol. LV, p. 711.—Jehans de Dampierre, escuiers, sire de Saint Digier et de Waignourieu, et Aelis d'Offemont, fame du dit Jehan. *Ibid.*, p. 712.—Vente faite par Jehan de Saint Crespin, ecuyer, fils de feu Raoul de Saint Crespin, ecuyer, et Symonne de Vy, sa femme. *Ibid.*, p. 712.—Nous avons ordonné . . . que nul chevalier, ecuyer, ne gentilhomme, de quelque condition qu'il soit. *Ordonnances des Rois de France* (year 1295), XI, p. 376 (Guil.).—Ledit chevalier avoue tenir du roi . . . une vavassourie laquelle Jehan de Noyse Eve, escuier, tient dudit chevalier par hommage, 1394. *Arch. Nat.*, p. 289, no. 65. (D.C.).

² See *supra*, p. 85.

³ C'est ce que Jehan de Clari, escuier, sires de Gesaincourt tieng, . . . du roy nostre sire noblement a cause de son chastel de Doullens, 1377. *Arch. Nat.*, p. 137, no. 59, fo. 1 (Guil.).—Cheste ce que je, Pierres de Sains, dit Gallois, escuier, seigneur de Juinez, tieng et adveue a tenir, 1410. *Arch. Nat.*, p. 281, no. 109 (Guil.).—Du droit de mon dit fieu, . . . Fouquet de Saint Marie, escuier, en tient par parage . . . un huitiesme de fieu de hautbert, et m'en doit l'huytiesme partie du service d'un chevalier toutes foiz que le roy prent ses services, 1394. *Arch. Nat.*, p. 304, no. 27, fo. 16 (Guil.).

⁴ See *supra*, p. 85.

Beside this normal main development of *escuiers*, in which the word shifted from signifying 'a shield-bearer' to signifying 'he who aspires to the rank of *chevaliers*,' and then 'he who in the noble hierarchy occupies a rank lower than that of the *chevaliers* but higher than that of the simple gentleman,' there took place another and apparently independent shift in the meaning of the word. It has been said that the chief tasks of the *escuiers* consisted in the bearing of their lord's spear and shield and in the care of their lord's horses.¹ It was the custom in the Middle Ages that these *escuiers*, of whom there was often a considerable number, should lodge, along with the horses, in a building apart from the rest of the nobles. To this building was given the name *escurie*. Gradually, however, the conditions of culture of the times changed so that the *escuiers* were no longer lodged in the same place as were the horses. The building where the horses were kept still continued, however, to be called the *escurie*, which word consequently shifted from meaning 'the place where the esquires are lodged along with the horses' to meaning 'the place where the horses are kept,' 'the stable.' Upon this word *escurie* was built a word *escuyer*, signifying 'stable boy,' which word was not derived from, nor had any direct connection with, the original word *escuiers*. That such a word could have arisen alongside *escuiers*, identically similar as regards form and of quite a different meaning, would have probably been impossible, had it not been that in all parts of France, except the North,² *escuiers* in the meaning, 'a noble,' seems to have been disappearing from use about the time that the new word arose. The date of the origin of *escuyer*, meaning 'stable boy,' seems to have been about the beginning of the fifteenth century, although there are traces of it in texts from the second half of the fourteenth century.³

¹ See p. 137.

² In the North, *escuiers* seems to have retained its earlier meaning long after it had disappeared from the other sections of France.

³ Convient que on li doingne escuier et garçon qui le servent et preignent garde de ses chevaux. *From a fourteenth century manuscript, Bibl. Nat., ms. fr. 1971, fo. 9 (D. C.)*

B. Use of *Escuiers* as a Title in Direct Address.

In the Old-French period, there seems to have been a tendency to avoid the use of a title that would call up the dependence or youth of the person addressed. Such titles as *chastelain*, *serjenz*, *vassals*, are generally not used unless it is desired to reprimand the hearer by emphasizing his dependent position.¹ Consequently, in the Old-French texts consulted for this study, there are but few examples of *escuiers* employed as a title in direct address. These few examples, however, are found in twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth-century texts from the East, North, and Center, and show that its use, while sporadic, was continuous and widespread.²

¹ Such titles as *amis* and *frere* were used for these men instead of the technical name for the dependent office which they held.

² In all the examples of the word, *escuiers* is used in the meaning, 'a young noble who aspires to knighthood,' and not in the meaning, 'he who, in the hierarchy of the nobles, occupies a rank higher than that of the simple gentleman but lower than that of the *chevaliers*.'

"Alés," dist il, "mi escuier." *Bel Desconu*, 1369 (noble to his esquires).—Or escrie: "As armes, chevalier, Et .l. et autre, serjans et escuier." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 8621 (noble to his esquires).—"Escuier, il vous faut moy rendre ce destrier." *Brun de la Mont.*, 3320 (noble to esquire).—Li chevaliers li dit: "Escuiers gracieus." *Brun de la Mont*, 3461 (noble to esquire).—"As armes, vistement, escuier et baron." *Maugis d'Aigremont*, 4662 (townspeople to esquires).

CHAPTER XIII.

FRERE AND ITS COMPOUNDS.

SECTION I.

FRERE.

A. *Frere* used by the Nobility.

1. THE "NORMAL" MEANING OF *FRERE* AS A TITLE FOR EQUALS.

In Old French, the primal meaning of *frere*¹ was 'brother' and, in this meaning, the word was much employed by men and women of all classes and ranks of society as a title for their brothers.² For reasons set forth in the Introduction, a study of *frere* in this meaning used as a title in direct address has been omitted.³

Among all peoples, men have been wont to consider that the friendship which bound them to certain of their fellows was of a nature so intimate as to resemble the relationship between brother and brother. It has been said⁴ that, during the Early Period, this fictitious fraternity was formalized by definite acts and by binding pacts. After the eleventh century, however,

¹ In Latin, *frater* signified 'brother,' 'cousin or brother-in-law,' 'an ally of the state,' 'an intimate friend,' and 'a lover.' For examples, see Harper's Latin Dictionary, under *frater*.

² The following are a few examples of *frere* employed as a title for a brother.

"Frere Chaym, nus sumes dous germain." *Adamspiel*, 590 (Abel to Cain).—"Frere," fet ele, "nel tenez a folor." *Aimeri de Narbonne*, 2432 (sister to Pagan king).—Si li dist: "Frere, je ne sai." *Sone de Noisey*, 301 (noble to brother).

³ Because *frere*, designating a priest, was purely a class term, all discussion of the word used as a title for priests will be omitted from the present study. For the reasons for this omission, see Introduction.

⁴ See *supra*, p. 12.

the formal nature of the relation between the fictitious brothers having disappeared, the fictitious fraternity existing between two men differed in no way from intimate friendship, and *frere*, the title reciprocally employed among men bound by this relation, signified 'my intimate friend' and came to be equivalent in meaning to *amis*.¹ It is this meaning of *frere* that will be taken, for the purposes of this study, as the "normal" meaning of the word.

Of the total number of examples in the texts, consulted for this study, in which *frere* was used by the nobility as a title in direct address, the following table shows the per cent. of cases in which the word was employed in the "normal" meaning, 'my intimate friend':

Eleventh century: 100%, all from the West.²

Twelfth century: 25%, from the North and Center.³

Thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: no examples.

2. THE "TRANSFERRED" MEANING OF *FRERE* AS A TITLE FOR INFERIORS.

Like *amis*,⁴ *frere* came to be employed by kings and feudal seigneurs as a title for their followers, whom they flattered and honored by addressing them by a term generally used for equals only. In this use, *frere*, like *amis*, conveyed the idea of condescending superiority on the part of the speaker, and signified 'a man toward whom I have the condescending good will of a superior in his relation to an inferior.'

Of the total number of examples in the texts, consulted for this study, in which *frere* was used by the nobility as a title in direct address for the nobility, the following table shows the per

¹ See *supra*, p. 16.

² "Oliviers frere, cum le porrum nus faire." *Roland*, 1698 (Roland to Oliver, his fictitious brother).

³ "Guillebert, frere," ce dit li cuens Bertrans. *Prise d'Orange*, 1767 (noble to intimate friend).—"Frere," fait il, "or vous estent." *Renart*, III, 563 (noble to intimate friend).

⁴ See *supra*, p. 20.

cent. of cases in which the word was employed by seigneurs in its "transferred" meaning as a title for nobles of high rank:

Twelfth century: 15%, from the North and Center.¹

First half of the thirteenth century: 9%, from the North and Center.²

Second half of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries: no examples.

As in the case of *amis*,³ *frere* was extended in its use until it came to be employed by seigneurs as a title for their nobles of minor rank, and by nobles as a title for their servants and for the lower classes of society.

Of the total number of examples in the texts consulted for this study, in which *frere* was used by the nobility as a title in direct address, the following table shows the per cent. of cases in which the word was employed by seigneurs in its "transferred" meaning as a title for nobles of minor rank:

Twelfth century: 35%, from the North and Center.⁴

First half of the thirteenth century: 50%, from the East,⁵ North, and Center.

Second half of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries: 50%, from the North and Center.⁶

Of the total number of examples in the works consulted for this study, in which *frere* was used by the nobility as a title in direct address, the following table shows the per cent. of cases

¹ "Rainours, frere, comment vous contenés." *Aliscans*, 7275 (noble to noble of great prowess and high rank).

² "Frere," dist il, "mon hanap m'aportés." *Huon de Bordeaux*, 3646 (king to noble of high rank).

³ See *supra*, pp. 22-23.

⁴ "Messagier, frere, di Guion l'Aleasant." *Coronnement Louis*, 2439 (noble to messenger).

⁵ "Aymeri, frere, molt as grant hardement." *Aimeri de Narbonne*, 753 (emperor to young noble).—"Diex gart toi, frere," dist R. li cortois. *Raoul de Cambrai*, 2153 (noble to esquire).—"Bien, li di, frere, nes laist pas eschaper." *Amis et Amiles*, 352 (noble to messenger).

⁶ "Frere, je me conseillearai." *Sone de Noisey*, 3555 (king to esquire).—"Frere," fet il, "entent a moi." *Florian et Florette*, 255 (noble to esquire).

in which the word was employed by nobles as a title for servants and for the lower classes of society:¹

Twelfth century: 25%, from the North and Center.²

First half of the thirteenth century: 41%, from the North and Center.³

Second half of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries: 50%, from the North and Center.⁴

3. *FRERE* USED AS A LOVE-TERM.

Since *frere* was nearly equivalent in meaning to *amis*, it came to be employed, as was *amis*,⁵ as a term of sexual love. From the point of view of the nobility, however, *frere* as a love-term seems to have possessed pejorative by-notions and, while, in the texts consulted for this study, there are numerous examples of the word used by bourgeois women as a title of endearment for their lovers and husbands,⁶ there is but one example of a corresponding use by women of the nobility.⁷ The considerable use of the title by the lower classes of society probably resulted in its non-use by noble women.

¹ The feeling of condescension and superiority on the part of the speaker is shown by the use, in the majority of cases in which *frere* is employed as a title for inferiors, of the personal pronoun *tu*.

² "Haste toi, frere, molt en ai grant mestier." *Alisoans*, 1574 (count to his gate-keeper).—"Frere," fet il a Galopin. *Renart*, I, 2508 (noble to *jongleur*).—"Et tu, de quoi, frere." *Aucassin et Nicolette*, 24, 46 (noble to peasant).—"Tiacre, frere, quel avoir vas menant?" *Charroi de Nimes*, 1124 (king to merchant).

³ "Frere, c'est .l. chevaux," fait il en souspirant. *Chev. au Cygne*, 874 (king to forester).—"Certes," dist Matabrune, "frere, je t'ai moult cier." *Chev. au Cygne*, 996 (queen to soldier).—"Frere," dist il, "a tant s'em part." *Chev. aux Deux Epées*, 8578 (noble to shepherd).—"Frere, quel noise est ce dont j'oi si grant crier." *Chev. au Cygne*, 2901 (noble to fisherman).

⁴ "Mon frere, mon ami." *Hist. du Chev. Bayard*, p. 41 (G) (noble to tailor).—"Frere," fait cil, "vees le la." *Philippe Mousquet, Chronique de Reims*, 447 (ed. Wailly) (noble to servant).

⁵ See *supra*, p. 29.

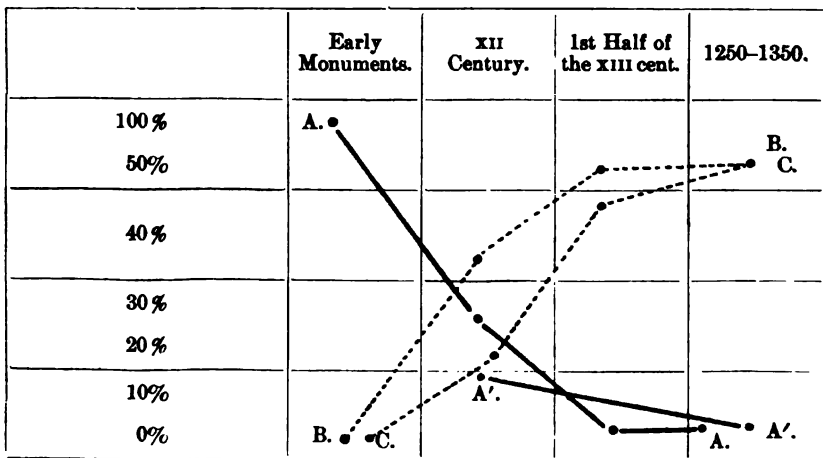
⁶ See *infra*, p. 146.

⁷ "Frere," dist elle, "ei a male colee." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 8506 (lady to noble husband).

CHART I.

	Early Monuments.	xii Century.	1st Half of the xiii cent.	1250-1350.
A. Noble to Equals.....	100%	25%	0%	0%
A'. Seigneur to Greater Nobles..	0%	15%	9%	0%
B. Seigneur to Lesser Nobles...	0%	35%	50%	50%
C. Seigneur to Servants.....	0%	25%	41%	50%

CHART II.



———— = Use to Equals or to men slightly inferior in rank.
 = Use to Inferiors.

4. CONCLUSIONS AS TO THE USE OF *FRERE* BY THE NOBILITY.

1. *Frere* in its "normal" meaning signified 'my intimate friend,' and it was thus that the word was used during the Early Period.

2. Because they desired to flatter their vassals of high and minor rank, seigneurs called them *frere*, a title that implied equality between the speaker and the hearer. In this "transferred" use, *frere* signified 'a man toward whom I have the condescending good will of a superior in his relation to an inferior.' In the works consulted for this study, the earliest examples of *frere* in this "transferred" meaning belong to the first half of the twelfth century.

3. From being employed as a title for their noble followers, seigneurs and nobles of all ranks came to use *frere* in the "transferred" meaning as a term of condescending good will for their servants and for the lower classes of society.

4. In the course of the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, there is a steady decrease in the use of *frere* as a title for equals and for nobles of high rank, and a corresponding increase in its use as a title for nobles of minor rank, for servants, and for the lower classes of society. In order to show the development of the word in meaning, it has been deemed advisable to add the appended charts. Chart I gives the percentage in which *frere* was employed by the nobility in its "normal" and in its several "transferred" meanings during each period of the Old-French epoch. On Chart II has been drawn a diagram of these percentages.

5. From these changes in the use of the word, it may be concluded that in proportion as *frere* came to be more and more used as a title for men of lower and lower rank, it came to be less and less used as a title for men of equal, or slightly lower, rank.

6. The falling into disuse of the "normal" signification and the corresponding increase in the "transferred" significa-

tion resulted in a pejorative shift in the meaning of *frere* used as a title. The occasional "transferred" meaning supplanted the usual "normal" meaning, and *frere* shifted from signifying 'my intimate friend' to signifying 'a man toward whom I have the condescending good will of a superior in his relation to an inferior.'

B. *Frere* used by the Lower Classes of Society.

In texts of the thirteenth century from the West and North, *frere* was employed by bourgeois as a title in direct address for their fellows.¹ There seems to have been a distinction between the use of *frere* by the nobility and the employment of the word by the lower classes of society. In the "normal" meaning, *frere* was used by nobles as a title for equals only. In the "transferred" meaning, *frere* was used as a title for inferiors only. If a noble addressed as *frere* a man who was not his friend, yet was his equal in rank, he inferred that the hearer was his inferior and hence insulted him.² This was not the case when the word was employed by the lower classes of society. The working man, much more readily than the reserved aristocrat, was willing to place himself on terms of intimacy with any man whom he might happen to meet. *Frere*, therefore, was employed by bourgeois as a title of honor for men of the lower classes of society who were but slightly known by them.

In thirteenth-century texts from the North and Center, *frere* was used by women of the lower classes of society as a love-term for their husbands and lovers.³

¹ "Ça, frere, ça, en chartre irras." *Resurrection du Sauveur*, 189 (soldier to fellow soldier).—"Frere," dist Wistasces li moigne. *Eustache le Moine*, 1567 (carpenter to soldier whom he has just met).—"Est ceste bonne, Warnier, frere?" *Jeu du Pelerin*, 101 (peasant to fellow).

² See *supra*, p. 26.

³ "Frere Aubouin, levez la teste." *Gautier de Coincy*, 241 (bourgeois woman to husband).—"Frere, miex me souliez amer." *Fabliaux*, I, 323 (peasant woman to husband).—Li dist: "Frere, se Deus m'aïst." *Fabliaux*, IV, 204 (peasant girl to lover).—"Frere, se Deus t'aïe." *Pas-*

SECTION II.

BEAUS FRERE.

As in the case of *frere*, all discussion of *beaus frere* used as a title for real brothers and priests will be omitted from this study.¹ The question as to whether *beaus frere* was employed during the Middle Ages as a title for brothers-in-law will, however, be touched upon. *Serorge*, *frerastre*, and *frere en loi*, were the usual Old-French terms for brothers-in-law.² Moreover, in the works consulted for this study, there is not an example of *beaus frere* used as a title for a brother by marriage and the earliest example of such a use quoted by the *Dictionnaire Général* occurs in a text of the year fifteen hundred and forty-nine. This lack of examples in the texts consulted for this study, however, may be explained by the fact that, so far as I recall, there occur in them no examples of conversation between an individual and his brother-in-law. Furthermore, since *bele suer*, *beaus fils*, and *belle fille* were employed during this period to designate a relationship by marriage,³ and since the *Honneurs de la Cour*, of a date slightly later than the period treated, says that the adjective *beaus* was used to designate relationships

torellen, II, 14, 51 (shepherdess to lover).—"Or, ne vous chaut," fet ele, "frere." *Fabliaux*, IV, 174 (peasant woman to husband).—"Frere," dist ele, "tu es mors." *Fabliaux*, IV, 214 (wife to *vilain*).

¹ See *supra*, p. 141.

² Mon serorge que je molt pris. *Fabliaux*, III, 41.—Erart le charpentier, frere en lay ou serourge du suppliant. *J. J. ann.* 1389, *in reg.* 135, *ch.* 171 (D. C.)—Martin de Sienna, frerastre du suppliant. . . . *J. J.* 206, p. 393 (D. C.)—Et son frere en loy, ayant espousé sa soeur. *Lit. remiss. ann.* 1454, *ex Reg.* 184, *ch.* 508 (D. C.)

³ "Entendés ça, soer bele." *Fabliaux*, II, 227 (noble lady to sister-in-law).—Çou dist la mere au roi: "Mostres ça la portee De coi ma belle fille est morte et enterree." *Chev. au Cygne*, 1292 (queen speaking of her daughter-in-law).—"Thiebaut, biaux fils, qui longue voie va." *O. F. N.*, p. 162 (noble to son-in-law).

Beaus frere, first used as a title for relatives by marriage, eventually came to be a designation for these relatives. See chapter on *suer*.

by marriage,¹ it is probable that, during the Old-French period, *beaus frere* was employed as a designation and as a title for brothers-in-law.

In texts of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries from all sections of France, *beaus frere*² in the "normal" meaning, 'my intimate friend,' was employed in ever-diminishing frequency by nobles as a title in direct address for their friends.³ There are no examples in texts of a date later than the first half of the thirteenth century.

In works of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries from all sections of the territory, *beaus frere* in the "transferred" meaning, 'a man for whom I have the condescending good will of a superior in his relation to an inferior,' was used in ever-diminishing frequency by seigneurs as a title for their nobles of high rank.⁴ There are no examples in works of a date later than the first half of the thirteenth century.

In texts of the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from all sections of the territory, *beaus frere* in the "transferred" meaning was used in ever-increasing frequency by seigneurs as a title for their followers of minor rank.⁵

¹ Quant les roys et roynes, ducqs, duchesses, princesses, ont des parents, les doivent appeler beaux. *Les Honneurs de la Cour*, ms., p. 74 (S. P.).

² See *supra*, p. 37.

³ "Ensemble od Frans devons morir, bels frere." *Roland*, 1868a. (Roland to Oliver).—"Amis, beaus frere, molt as bons reson." *Prise d'Orange*, 215 (seigneur to noble of high rank).—Il li escrie: "Biaus frere, dont viens tu?" *Aliscans*, 2207 (noble to his intimate friend).—"Bau frere," fait il, "or me di!" *Renart*, VII, 340 (noble to intimate friend).—"Amis, biax frere, et comment voz est dont?" *Amis et Amiles*, 2823 (noble to his intimate friend).

⁴ "Avoi, beaus frere Hugelins." *Gormond et Isembart*, 213 (king to noble of high rank).—"Öil, beau frere, en ta main un baston." *Coronnement Louis*, 1775 (seigneur to noble of high rank).—"Richier, beau frere, qui sunt cil chevalier." *Ogier*, 710 (emperor to noble of high rank).—"Nanni, biau frere, par mon dieu Apolin." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 7947 (king to noble of high rank).—"Certes," fait li Galois, "beaz frere." *Durmart le Gaulois*, 6173 (seigneur to noble of high rank).

⁵ "Amis, beau frere, que as trové as Frans?" *Coronnement Louis*, 2445 (noble to esquire).—"Or me dites," fait il, "bau frere." *Renart*, XIII,

In texts of the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from all sections of the territory, *beaus frere* in the "transferred" meaning was employed in ever-increasing frequency by nobles as a title for servants and members of the lower classes of society.¹

Therefore, as *beaus frere* came to be more and more used in the "transferred" meaning as a title for nobles of minor rank and for servants and the lower classes of society, it ceased to be used in the "normal" meaning as a title for nobles of high rank and for equals. Therefore, *beaus frere*, like *frere*,² shifted from signifying 'my intimate friend' to signifying 'a man toward whom I have the condescending good will of a superior in his relation to an inferior.'

Beaus frere was also employed by women of the upper classes of society as a love-term for their sweethearts and husbands.³ Examples of this use are, however, rare, *beaus frere* as a love-term being chiefly employed by the women of the lower classes of society.

Beaus frere was employed by men of the lower classes of so-

622 (noble to messenger, an esquire).—"Tenés, biaux frere, pensés de l'exploiter." *Ogier*, 4637 (noble to esquire).—"Amis, biaux frere, ainc plus tost ne te vi." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 1611 (noble to esquire).—"Biau frere, k'avés a faire?" *Escoufle*, 4848 (princess to esquire).—"Biaus frere, or ne nous soit celé." *Sone de Noiey*, 3542 (king to esquire).—"Car, l'en portés outre, biau frere." *Fabliaux*, V, 176 (noble to esquire).

¹"Amis, beau frere, se me vels conseilher." *Coronnement Louis*, 1620 (noble to gate-keeper).—"Biaux frere, dex t'ait." *Aucassin et Nicolette*, 24, 25 (noble to servant).—"Qui estes vos," font il, "bel frere?" *Renart*, I, 2799 (noble to jongleur).—"Biaus frere, ains est .l. frains qui le va destraignant." *Chev. au Cygne*, 897 (king to forester).—"Amis, biaux frere, ja savez la raison." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 1970 (noble to gate-keeper).—"Beaz freres," fait il al arcier. *Durmart le Gaulois*, 10735 (noble to archer).—"Amis, biaux frere, li cors deu bien te donst." *Amis et Amiles*, 151 (noble to sheep-herder).—"Biau frere, qui sont lecheor." *Fabliaux*, V, 27 (noble to servant).—Apela: si li dist: "Biaus frere." *Fabliaux*, V, 152 (noble lady to servant).

²See *supra*, p. 149.

³Dist la pucele: "Vostre merci, biau frere." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 5743 (noble girl to lover).—"Ami, biaux frere, le mien cors voz present." *Amis et Amiles*, 3433 (noble woman to husband).

ciety in the "normal" meaning only as a title for their friends and equals,¹ by women of the lower classes of society as a love-term for sweethearts and husbands.² These examples occur in thirteenth and fourteenth-century texts from the North and Center of the territory.

SECTION III.

BEAUS DOUZ FRERE.

In texts of the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from all sections of the territory, *beaus douz frere*³ was used by seigneurs as a title for their noble followers, and by nobles as a title for their servants and for the lower classes of society.⁴ Also, by noble ladies as a love-term for their sweethearts.⁵

In works of the thirteenth century from the North, *beaus douz frere* was employed by women of the lower classes of society as a love-term for their husbands.⁶

¹ "Je m'avez vous conté, biau frere." *Gautier de Coincy*, 213 (merchant to ship owner).—"Seur Dieu te jur, jüif, biau frere." *Gautier de Coincy*, 546 (bourgeois to Jew).—"Fait il: "Biau frere, faites dont." *Escoufle*, 6712 (servant to servant).

² Dist sa fame: "Robin, biaux frere." *Fabliaux*, IV, 121 (bourgeois woman to husband).—"Öil, biaux frere, plus que tant." *Fabliaux*, I, 199 (bourgeois woman to husband).

³ See *supra*, p. 47.

⁴ "Qar m'i alés, Brun, bauz doz frere." *Renart*, I, 440 (emperor to noble of high rank).—"Biaux dolz frere, biaux doz amis." *Fabliaux*, V, 163 (noble to servant).—"Dy moy, Mador, bel douz frere." *Fitz Warren*, 83 (noble to sailor).

⁵ "Plus ameroie, biax dous frere." *Ille et Galeron*, 4728 (noble lady to lover).

⁶ "Biaux dous freres, se Dix m'ait." *Fabliaux*, II, 168, (*vilain* woman to husband).—"Se me diras: "Biax freres douz." *Fabliaux*, I, 320 (bourgeois woman to husband).

SECTION IV.

MISCELLANEOUS COMPOUNDS OF FRERE.

The following compounds¹ of *frere* are not found in more than two examples of each in the four hundred thousand lines of Old-French texts read for this study. They may therefore be classed as sporadic linguistic curiosities, rather than as titles which were in much circulation among the society of the times.

Douz frere is found in but two examples, in the *Bastard de Bouillon* and in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame*:² *chiers frere* occurs in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* only:³ *loiaus frere* is peculiar to the *Bastard de Bouillon*.⁴

¹ See *supra*, p. 38, note 2.

² "Et si li dites bien, dous frere naturaus." *Bast. de Bouillon*, 1493 (noble lady to king).—"Frere doulx, a dieu vous comment." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A, I, 1133 (noble to hermit).

³ "Mon chier frere, se Dieu me gart." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A, IV, 1576 (king to hermit).

⁴ "Loiaus frere." *Bast. de Bouillon*, 414 (noble to noble, his brother).

CHAPTER XIV.

GARS AND GARCE.

SECTION I.

GARS.

*Gars*¹ originally signified 'boy' and continued to have this signification throughout the entire Middle Ages.² Probably because servants and especially camp servants were generally young men or boys, *gars* early shifted to mean 'servant' or 'camp follower.'³ In the Middle Ages, the camp followers were often composed of the scum of society. *Gars*, the word for a camp follower, therefore, took on decidedly pejorative by-notations and shifted to mean 'a vile fellow,' 'a pimp,' 'a scoundrel,' equivalent to *ribaud*, *pautoniers*, etc.⁴

In texts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from the East, North, and Center, *gars* in the meaning, 'boy,' was used by nobles and bourgeois as a title for boys.⁵

In works of the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from all sections of the territory except the

¹ The origin and etymology of this word are uncertain.

² N'estoient pas li pasteur garçon, Mais bachelier auques vaillant. . . Wace, *La Conception de N. Dame*, p. 15 (G.)

³ Ne n'i adeist escuiers ne garçons. *Roland*, 2437.—Li harnois ont querqué escuiers et gartson. *Baudoin de Sebourg*, 24387 (ed. Boca) (G).

⁴ E garçons et putains unt Saint Thomas hué. *St. Thomas*, 46.—Et dient qu'ele a mescoisé quant d'un garçon fist son ami. *Partenopeus de Blois*, 4827 (ed. Crapelet).—Qu'alés a un garçon parlant, A un bricon, a un musart. *Sone de Noisey*, 5983.—Viles personnes, quas garcionem vocant (D. C.)—Avec ce, maudist plusieurs injures, en l'appellant garçon. *Arch. J. J.*, 110 (D. C.)—Nes doit òir coarz ne mauvés hon Ne losengiers, ne ribaus, ne garçon." *Aimeri de Narbonne*, 49.

⁵ "Gars," dist ele, "va en maison." *Fabliaux*, I, 172 (bourgeois woman to boy).—"Gars, pourquoi es tu si hardis?" *Rose*, 4145 (noble to boy).

West, *gars* in the sense, 'scoundrel,' 'pimp,' was used by nobles and bourgeois as a term of contempt for any person whom they desired to insult.¹

SECTION II.

GARCE.

In the works of the Middle Ages consulted for this study, the feminine of *gars*, *garce*, was used as a designation for a vile woman only and signified 'a harlot,' 'a vile woman,' 'a wench.'²

In texts of the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from all sections of France, *garce* in the meaning, 'a wench,' was used by nobles and bourgeois as an insult for any woman with whom they were angry.³

¹ "Fui desur mei, garz pautoniers." *Gormand et Isembart*, 356 (Pagan king to Christian noble, his adversary).—"Fil a putain, malvais garçon lanier." *Alisoans*, 7690 (noble to nobles with whom he is angry).—"Cist vilz lecheres, cilz garçons." *Renart*, II, 1181 (Ysengrim speaking of Renart before king).—"Chertes," fait Malquarres, "gars de pute saison." *Chev. au Cygne*, 1691 (noble to noble whom he is insulting).—"Garçons malvais," ce dist Durmars. *Durmart le Gaulois*, 795 (noble to noble whom he is insulting).

² "Or esgarde droit et raison, D'une garce, d'une vilaine." *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, 1138 (used in meaning, 'a vile woman').

³ "Fole garce," dist il, "tu menz." *Fabliaux*, II, 229 (noble to sister, with whom he is angry).—"Tu manz, garce, trestot ensamble." *Fabliaux*, VI, 143 (noble lady to girl in waiting with whom she is angry).—"Alez en, orde garce, madame veut dormir." *Berte*, 294 (old lady to girl in waiting with whom she is angry).—"Dame orde, garce recrette." *Rose*, 16309 (lady to lady with whom she is angry).

CHAPTER XV.

GENT AND ITS COMPOUNDS.

SECTION I.

GENT.

In Old French, *gent* signified 'a race,' 'a nation.'¹ From designating an entire race or nation, *gent* came to designate any two or more of the individual members of a race or nation, and eventually came to signify 'any two or more persons taken collectively.'²

Because, in the Middle Ages, 'any two or more persons taken collectively' who were dependent upon a seigneur were his 'vassals,' *gent*, when used in reference to a seigneur, signified 'vassals.'³ In texts of all periods and from all sections of France, *gent* and its compounds in the above-mentioned meanings were used as titles in direct address. For the same reason as in the case of *hom*,⁴ *gent* was never used alone, but was always accompanied by some distinguishing adjective to give color to the title. These adjectives were complimentary, like *bele*, *dolce*, or *franche*, or uncomplimentary, like *fole*, and *pute*.

¹ Cum ço audit tota la gent. *Passion*, 33 (Koschwitz).—Ke le defende de la gent pautonniere. *Aliscans*, 618 (speaking of the Saracens).—Iceste genz fole esbâie. *Gormond et Isembart*, 158 (speaking of Saracens).—Païen ceurent as armes, la pute gent hâie." *Pierebras*, 3110.

² Molt est fous qui croit tote gent. *Tristran de Beroul*, 2171.—"Venez en tuit, bonne gent honoree, Serjant, bourgeois, chevalier, gent lettré." *Amis et Amiles*, 3170.

³ "No one can have honor," says Marie de France, "who desires to shame his lord, Ne li sire tut ensement, Pur qu'il vueille hunir sa gent." Marie de France, *Fables*, XXVII, 23.—Il departi ses oz et renvoia sa gent. *Chanson des Saisnes*, XII.

⁴ See chapter on *hom*.

SECTION II.

BELE GENT.

*Bele gent*¹ was a title whose use seems to have been confined to the *bourgeoisie*. In works of the thirteenth century from the North and Center, *bele gent* in the meaning, 'my good people,' was occasionally employed by bourgeois as a title for their friends, by clergymen as a title for their bourgeois congregations,² and by authors as a title for their bourgeois audiences.³

SECTION III.

BONE GENT.

*Bone*⁴ *gent*, the most frequently used compound of *gent*,⁵ occurs in texts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries from the North and Center. While it was never used by nobles as a title of respect for their fellows of equal rank, it was much employed by seigneurs as a title for their vassals,⁶ by bourgeois as

¹ Six and four-tenths per cent. of the total number of examples of *gent* and its compounds used as a title in direct address in the works consulted for this study are of the compound *bele gent*. For a discussion of *bele*, see *supra*, p. 37.

² "Beles genz," fet ele, "merci." *Fabliaux*, VI, 3 (bourgeois woman to her neighbors).—"Tenez silence, bele gent!" *Gautier de Coinoy*, 355 (preacher to bourgeois congregation).

³ "Bele gent, je ne suis pas de ces povres precheurs." *Rustebeuf*, II, 58 (author to bourgeois readers).

⁴ *Bone gent* seems to have escaped the pejorative by-notions that arose around other compounds of *bon*. See *bon hom*.

⁵ Twenty-eight and one-tenth per cent. of the total number of examples of *gent* and its compounds used as a title in direct address in the works consulted for this study are of the compound *bone gent*.

⁶ "Savés que jo ai fait, bone gent resbaudi." *Chev. au Cygne*, 2009 (queen to noble followers).—"Segnor," dist li rois, "bone gent honoree." *Naiss. du Chev. au Cygne*, 1611 (king to noble vassals).—"Buillon, a che bastard, avant, ma bonne gent." *Bast. de Bouillon*, 4668 (seigneur to noble vassals).—"He! bonnes gens, je puis bien dire." *Miracles de N. Dame*, B. XII, 1142 (noble lady to her husband's vassals).

a term of great respect for their friends,¹ and by preachers and authors as a title for their bourgeois congregations and audiences.² When used by nobles as a title for bourgeois,³ *bone gent* seems to have possessed a shade of superior condescension similar to that possessed by the expression, 'my good people,' used by a man of the upper classes of society as a title for a group of inferiors.

SECTION IV.

DOUCE GENT.

*Douce*⁴ *gent* occurs in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* only, where it is used by preachers as a title for their bourgeois congregations.⁵

SECTION V.

FRANCHE GENT.

It has been said that, up to the thirteenth century, only members of the nobility were considered *franc*.⁶ In texts of the

¹ "A! bone gent, âie, âie!" *Renart*, XIV, 804 (bourgeois woman to friends).—"Harou, âide, bone gent!" *Fabliaux*, I, 173 (bourgeois woman to her neighbors).—"Hareu, Dieus, hareu, boine gent!" *Robin et Marion*, 332 (bourgeois to friends).

² "Que faites vous la, bone gent?" *Fabliaux*, III, 55 (priest to bourgeois and his wife).—"Bonnes gens, ensi fui jou pris." *Jus Adam*, 164 (priest to group of bourgeois).—"Bone gent, si orrez la vie." *Miracle de St. Theophile*, 644 (bishop to bourgeois congregation).—"Segnor, or entendés, bone gent assolue." *Chev. au Cygne*, 21 (author to bourgeois audience).

³ Et Elyas lor crie. "Attendés, bone jant." *Chev. au Cygne*, 2565 (noble to group of bourgeois).—"Venez en tuit, bonne gent honoree." *Amis et Amiles*, 3169 (noble to group of bourgeois).

⁴ See *supra*, p. 45.

⁵ "Ma douce gent, entendez ça!" *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. I, 64 (preacher to audience).

⁶ See *franz hom.* Fifteen and three-tenths per cent. of the total number of examples of *gent* and its compounds found in the texts consulted for this study are of *franche gent*.

twelfth and first half of the thirteenth centuries, *franche gent* was, therefore, used as a title for nobles only. *Franche gent* in the meaning, 'my vassals,' was used only by seigneurs as a title of much respect for their noble followers.¹

SECTION VI.

*HARDIE GENT.**JOVENE GENT.**NOBILE GENT.*

Hardie gent, *jovene gent*, and *nobile gent* are each found in but one example in the texts consulted for this study, showing their use to have been purely sporadic.² Of these compounds, the only one deserving of mention is *jovene gent*, interesting as showing that this title, so frequent in Modern French, was occasionally used in Paris in the thirteenth century.

¹ "Conseillez moi, franche gent hennoree!" *Prise d'Orange*, 302 (seigneur to his vassals).—"Or tost as armes, france gent hennoree!" *Aliscans*, 4002 (seigneur to his vassals).—"Signeur," ce dist Ogier, "France gent honneree!" *Fierebras*, 5350 (seigneur to his nobles).—"Ore, après, franche gent loee." *Renart*, XVII, 1097 (king to noble followers).—"Mar, abatez, franche gent seignorie." *Aimeri de Narbonne*, 1106 (emperor to noble followers).—"Seignor, or del bien faire, franche gent honoree." *Chev. au Cygne*, 6430 (emperor to noble followers).—"Oïés, signor, franche gent honoree." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 4802 (seigneur to noble vassals).

² "Or del secore, franche gent et hardie!" *Raoul de Cambrai*, 2370 (noble to his *maisniee*).—"Jone gent, qu' aveiz empencei?" *Rustebeuf*, I, 174 (bourgeois to young men).—"Hail noble gent de Troie." *Troie*, 2897 (king to his people).

CHAPTER XVI.

HOM, FEME, AND THEIR COMPOUNDS.

SECTION I.

HOM.

Like Latin *homo*, Old-French (*h*)*om* (*huem*) signified 'man,'¹ 'husband,'² and 'vassal.' The latter meaning alone requires explanation.

During the Roman empire, the emperors, generals, and even the more powerful private citizens, maintained large bodies of domestic soldiers, called *scolares*. These *scolares*, often men of importance in the State, formed a part of the private household of their *patron*, were bound by oath to serve him in all contingencies, and, while in his service, were subject to his authority.

Also dependent upon the Roman *patron*, were men called *clientes*, who, in return for grants of land, or for protection, had placed themselves under his authority. These *scolares* and *clientes*, instead of being free agents, were dependent upon their *patron*, and were considered as belonging to him. They were, consequently, called his *homines*.

Domestic soldiers (*buccalarii*) and *clientes* (*vassi*) dependent upon a *patron* (seigneur) were also a part of the social structure of the Franks.³ Likewise, they were designated as the *home*⁴ of the seigneur, and the act which bound them to the seigneur

¹ Riches hom fut, de grant nobilitet. *Alevis*, str. 14.

² Quod vero scribitis, vi excellentissimæ filie meæ . . . Gurdie et sanctissimæ filie ejus domnæ Theotistæ, et magnificis earum Hominibus, Domno Marino et Domno Christodoro, scribere debeam. (Quoted by Du Cange.) Also see *supra*, p. 65.

³ By the time of the *Roland*, the *personal* bond had given way to the *real* bond. See *supra*, p. 5.

⁴ Serfs and laborers were not considered of sufficient importance to be

was termed *homage*.¹ Because of advantages of land or protection, nearly all freemen became the *home* of some powerful seigneur. As the feudal system became more and more developed, the seigneur, instead of granting land directly to all those freemen who desired land or help, gave it to a few of his followers of high rank, who, in turn, parcelled it out among their fellows of lower rank. The latter were consequently considered the *home* of the followers of high rank, and not the *home* of the seigneur himself. Therefore, the *home* of a powerful seigneur were his nobles of high rank only. Because *hom* shifted from meaning 'man' to meaning 'vassal' and because, at a later date, women as well as men were frequently the 'vassals' of a great seigneur, *hom* in the meaning, 'vassal,' was often used as a designation for a woman.² In the texts consulted for this study, the simplex *hom*, for the same causes as *chevaliers*,³ was never used as a title in direct address.

granted the privilege of offering *homage*. The *home* of a seigneur were, therefore, those freemen who were under his authority.

¹ Jeo deveigne vostre home de cest jour en avant, de vis et de membre et de teneue honor, et a vous serra loyall et foy a vous portera des teneuens que jeo claime de tener de vous. *Form of Oath of Homage*, in Littleton. (Quoted by D. C.)—Ibi inter alia veniens Zwentibaldus Dux cum principalibus suis homo, sicut mos est per manus Imperatoris efficitur, contestatus ille fidelitatem jramento. *Annales Francorum Fulda*. (Quoted by D. C.)—Je, Henris de Nouvion, chevalier, fais savoir . . . que Nicoles du Tristre, vaasseurs, mes hons. *B. E. C.*, XXXVI, p. 196. Fulco de Guencort homo noster est, sicut feodus debet, de quarta feodi eligi: *Rôle des feudataires de Corbie*, no. 31 (in Bouthors, *Coutumes locales du Bailliage d'Amiens*, I, p. 320).—Homage est un lien de droit dont home est lié et tenu de garaunter, acquiter, et defendre son tenaunt en sa seisme vers toutes gens par les services dues del tenement, que il tendra de lui en service ou en demeine, et sa foi garder desbleray, dount autant est le seigneur tenu a son home, come le home a son seigneur, fors que soulement en reverence. Britton, *In Legibus Angl.*, cap. 68. (Quoted by D. C.)

² Cum mulier nobilis Joia vidua domina de Wallaincort, homo nostra. *Charta Bald. dom. de Muy*. (Quoted by D. C.)—Et la receut le roy comme son homme. *Perceforest*, I. fo. 123 (speaking of a princess).

³ See *supra*, p. 87.

SECTION II.

FRANS HOM.

While *hom* was never used alone as a title in direct address, it was frequently employed joined with some adjective. The most important compound of *hom* is *frans hom*. Since *hom* signified 'man,' 'husband,' and 'vassal,' *frans hom* will be treated as a title in direct address in each of these three meanings.

1. *Frans + hom* signifying 'Man.'

Frans, derived from the name of the conquerors of Gaul, originally signified 'free.'¹ In the Early Period, freedom was the prerogative of the upper classes of society, the nobility, only.² 'Free' and 'noble' were, therefore, synonymous, and *frans hom* signified 'nobleman.'³ Also, because a noble, as contrasted with the *vilain*, was supposed to be possessed of all good qualities, *frans hom* acquired by-notions of 'noble by character' as well as 'noble by birth.'⁴ After the Early Period,

¹This meaning is brought out in such expressions as *Normandie la franche*. *Roland*, 2324—"E! Deus," dist il, "quer otisse un serjant, Quil me guardast! Jo l'en fereie franc." *Alexis*, 226.

²In the Early Period, a man was either a noble or a serf and there was no middle class in the society of the times. *Omnes homines aut liberi sunt aut servi*. *Lex Romana Visigothorum* (ed. Haenel, p. 314).—*Non est amplius nisi liber et servus*. Boretius, *Capitularia*, I, 145. For the disabilities under which the lower classes lived, see chapter on *chevaliers*.

³Mais il n'i ara certes plus franc de vous Car vous estes li niés l'emperreour. *Aiol*, p. 6.—V dammes treuve de molt grant seingnorie Toutes gentiz et de molt franche orinne. *Jourdain de Blaye* (ed. Hoffman, 124).—*La m'en iroiz, filz de franche moillier*. *Coronnement Louis*, 1650.—*Ils furent un jour devant la cité plus de douze mille hommes que frans, que vilains*. *Froissart*, I. fol. 157. (Quoted by G.)

⁴This meaning is especially well brought out in the examples in which the word is used for hermits, palmers, and other men whose excellence of character it is desired to emphasize. "Frans hom," fait ele, "ouvres, pour sainte charité." *Berte*, 1090 (queen to hermit of noble character).

freedom was no longer the prerogative of the upper classes of society, the nobility, but many bourgeois, *vilain*, and *roturiers* were free. Hence, *frans hom* meaning 'any free man'¹ no longer designated 'nobleman,' and was no longer equivalent to 'nobles hom' or 'gentils hom.'²

In the Early Period, *frans hom* in the meaning, 'my noble sir,' was much used as a title in direct address. The examples of this employment are found in texts from the West and Center.³

Although, after the Early Period, *frans* no longer signified 'noble,' *frans hom*, because it had become a fixed locution, preserved its meaning, 'nobleman,' until a much later date. Therefore, until the thirteenth century, *frans hom* in the meaning,

¹ Les playds des heritage des pairs et des francs hommes de dedans la banlieu sont et seront a juger par le jugement des pairs et hommes de nostre dite court. *Rec. des Monuments de l'histoire du tiers état*, IV, p. 714 (Guil.).

² After the Early Period the lay-society, instead of being divided into two *états*, was separated into three, nobles (those men who, during the Early Period, were already free), freed men (those men who were not free during the Early Period), and serfs. This new division of the society of the times is shown in the following passage from the *Grand Coutumier de France* (ed. Laboulaye, p. 210).—Les nobles sont personnes simplement (always) franche, qui, de droit, sont quietes et frans de toutes singulieres servitudes de päs, comme tailles, imposicions, gabelles, et autres subsidés. . . . Les non nobles sont ditz en .ii. manieres, car les ungs sont franchises personnes, les autres sont de serve condition. . . . Les personnes non nobles et franchises sont celles qui peuvent ordonner a leur volenté de tous leurs biens, . . . et ne doivent tailles ne autres redevances pour raison de leurs personnes, jassoit ce que si pour raison de leurs biens. Mais les personnes de serve condition sont ceulx de qui les personnes sont servés.—Philippe de Beaumanoir (*Coutumes de Beauvaisis*, XLV, ed. Salmon, Vol. II, paragraph 1451) shows clearly that *frans hom*, by the fourteenth century, had ceased to be synonymous with 'nobleman.' He says: Tuit li franc ne sont pas gentil homme. Ainçois a grant disference entre les gentius hommes et les autres frans homes de pöosté, car l'en apele gentius hommes ceus qui sont estret de franche lignié, si comme de rois, de dus, de contes, ou de chevaliers. See section on *gentils hom*.

³ "Sire, frans hom, sers Deu verai." *Pape Gregoire*, 115 (noble lady to Pope).—"Sire Guillaume, frans homes, quar en pensées!" *Charroi de Nîmes*, 949 (followers to Count William).

'my noble sir,' was still employed as a title in direct address for the nobility.¹ It had, however, probably ceased to be so used by the second half of the thirteenth century. The examples found in fourteenth-century texts can be explained as repetitions by the authors of those texts of archaic titles found in the works that served as their models.²

In works of the second half of the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth centuries from the West and North, *frans hom* in the meaning, 'a man noble in character,' is used by nobles as a title for clergymen.³

In texts of the twelfth century, from the East, *frans hom* in the meaning, 'free man,' is used by bourgeois as a title for their fellows.⁴

2. *Frans + hom* signifying 'Husband.'

In texts of the thirteenth century from the North, *frans hom* signifying 'my noble husband' was used by noble women as titles for their husbands.⁵ These examples are the only ones found in the works consulted for this study.

¹ "Frans hom," fait ele au roy, "pour Dieu, laissez m'ester!" *Berte*, 2690 (noble girl to king of France).—"Frans hons," dist il, "vous soies bien trovés!" *Huon de Bordeaux*, 4000 (noble to friend).—"Frans hon," dist il, "por Diu, ore entendés!" *Huon de Bordeaux*, 2684 (ship owner to noble).

² "Ha! frans hom, mercy, je dirai." *Miracles de N. Dame*, B, XIII, 1310 (noble to noble of high rank).—"Frans hom, bien mercier vous doy." *Miracles de N. Dame*, B, XII, 1378 (noble to friend).

³ "Sire, frans hom, si vos souviengne." *Eacouste*, 280 (count to bishop).—"Frans hom," fait ele, "ouvres, pour sainte charité." *Berte*, 1090 (queen to hermit).—Puis li a demandé: "Dont venez vos, franc hom?" *Maugis d'Aigremont*, 4411 (noble to palmer).

⁴ "Ha!" fait il rois, "frans hon, merci." *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, 603 (stranger to noble).

⁵ "Ahi! tant mar i fustes, frans hom de sainte vie!" *Chev. au Cygne*, 5464 (noble woman to husband).—"Ha! B. Frere, frans hons, chiere membre!" *Raoul de Cambrai*, 8512 (noble lady to husband).

3. *Frans + hom* signifying 'Vassal.'

In texts of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries from all sections of the territory except the East, *frans hom* signifying 'my noble vassal' was used by seigneurs as a title of respect for their noble vassals of all ranks.¹

SECTION III.

GENTILS HOM.

1. *Gentils + hom* signifying 'Man.'

In Old French, *gentils* ² *hom*, signifying 'nobleman,' ³ was used as a generic term for any member of the nobility ⁴ and seems to have assumed the functions of *chevaliers* after that word

¹ "Frans hom," dist il, "soviegne toi de me!" *Ogier*, 2951 (Emperor Charles to young noble vassal).—"Getez, frans huem! mar s'en ira." *Marie de France*, *Eliduc*, 1056 (noble lady to vassal of her husband).—"Por amor Dieu, frans hom, levez les haut." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 5359 (noble to noble vassal).—"Hues de Tabarie, frans hons de bon lignage." *Bast. de Bouillon*, 84 (king to noble vassal).

² The adjective *gentil* (derived from Latin *gentilem* meaning 'of noble race') signified 'noble.' It occasionally had a shading similar to the meaning of the word in Modern French. *Donc priat moillier, Des miels gentilz de tote la contrede. Alexis*, 20.—Si sont depuis venus les habitans du royaume gentilz et villains qui s'en estoient fuyz. *Perceforest* II, fo. 70 (St. P.).

³ *Gentils hom*, like *frans hom*, had a shade of the meaning of noble by character as well as noble by birth. See *infra*, p. 164. This meaning is brought out in the following example: "Rois," fait il, ".l. damoisiaz fut Ki par noblesce et par vertut Duit bien estre apellez gentiz." *Dolopathos*, 9178.

Gentils, however, never came to mean 'a good man' and therefore escaped the pejorative shift that generally occurred in words denoting moral excellence.

⁴ *Mielz valt fîz a vilain Qui est prouz e senez, Que ne fait gentilz hum Faillez et debutez. St. Thomas*, 63.—Et se la chose nos venoit de home de chevalier ou de autre gentil home, nos la mestriens en mein de home de chevalier ou de autre gentil hom. *Transaction entre le comte de Champagne*

no longer designated 'any noble.'¹ Like all generic terms, *gentils hom* was often used as a term for those members of the class who were of the lowest rank.²

In texts of the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, from all sections of France except the East,³ *gentils hom* was used by nobles, priests and bourgeois of all ranks, as a title of great honor for any member of the nobility, for kings, counts and barons, as well as for nobles of minor rank.⁴

In two examples contained in thirteenth-century texts from the North, *gentils hom* is used as a title for a member of the *bourgeoisie*. In both of these cases, the speaker desires to flatter his bourgeois hearer and does so by addressing him by a title employed for nobles only.⁵

et les Templiers en 1255. (J. de Laborde, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, 111, 247).—Qui fu tres honnable pour toute nobleche et gentilleche. *Froissart*, II, 333 (ed. Raynaud, p. 40).—III estat sont entre les gens du siecle: li uns des estas, si est de gentillece: li secons sont né de franchises meres, et franchises ont tuit cil qui pueent et doivent estre apelé gentil homme; mais tuit li franc ne sont pas gentil homme. Quiconques est né de franche mere, il est frans, et ont franche pöosté. . . . Beaumanoir, *Coutumes de Beauvaisis*, XLV (ed. Salmon, II, 1451).

¹ See *supra*, p. 84.

² Nous avons ordonné que nul chevalier, escuyer ne gentilhomme. *Ordonnances des rois de France*, XI, p. 376. Also, see *supra*, p. 69.

³ *Gentils hom* does not seem to have been a title that was popular in the East.

⁴ "Gentilz hom, mon seignor ai perdut." *Roland*, 2823 (noble lady to King of Saracens).—"E, gentilz hom, car me dunez cungiet!" *Roland*, 2177 (Roland to Archbishop Turpin).—"Gentix hom, sire, se vos nel secorez!" *Coronnement Louis*, 2235 (esquire to count, his master).—"Met les ensanlle, amiraus, gentis hon." *Ogier*, 2546 (noble to king).—"Gentix hom, sire, por Dieu ne le touchier." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 2605 (noble to noble of equal rank).—"He! gentix hom, ne me puis taire." *Chev. aux Deux Épées*, 7392 (noble lady to noble friend).—"Gentiz hom, sire, com voz iestez malades." *Amis et Amiles*, 2173 (bishop to noble).—"Errant li demanda: "Gentils hons seignoris." *Brun de la Mont.*, 441 (noble to noble of high rank).—"Gentilz hon, vien ça, si delivre." *Fabliaux*, III, 121 (bourgeois woman to noble of high rank).—Further examples are found in *Huon de Bordeaux*, 2219 and 3869;—*Raoul de Cambrai*, 3705;—*Huon de Bordeaux*, 4681;—*Escoufle*, 2484;—*Amis et Amiles*, 2455 and 2641.

There are no examples of *gentils hom* used as a title for a clergyman, the title being confined to the lay-nobility.

⁵ "Ha! gentils hom, debonaire." *Escoufle*, 6868 (servant to sub-falconer,

2. *Gentils* + *hom* signifying 'Vassal.'

In works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from the West, North, and Center, *gentils hom* was used by seigneurs as a title of much honor for their vassals of all ranks.¹

3. *Gentils* + *hom* signifying 'Husband.'

The only example of *gentils hom* signifying 'husband' occurs in the *Alexis*, where the wife of Alexis thus addresses her husband.²

SECTION IV.

PROZDOM.

In Old French, *prozdom*³ signified 'a man of worth.' By extension, depending upon whether the man's worth was looked upon as physical or moral, *prozdom* signified 'a valiant man,'⁴ or 'a good and honest man.'⁵ Before the second half of the

of whom he is asking a favor).—"Ha! gentiex hom, laissiés ester." *Jus Adam*, 286 (priest to bourgeois of whom he is asking a favor).

¹ "Por Dieu, aidiez moi, gentiz hon." *Thebes*, 9963 (king to noble follower).—"Jentieus hom, sire, le merchi te requier." *Ogier*, 3200 (Emperor Charles to noble vassal).—"Venez avant," dist li rois, "gentis hom!" *Aimeri de Narbonne*, 401 (Emperor Charles to noble follower).—"Gentis hons sire, entendés envers moi." *Huon de Bordeaux*, 2158 (king to noble vassal of high rank).

² "E! gentils om, com dolente puis estre." *Alexis*, 478 (wife to Alexis).

³ The adjective *proz*, followed by the preposition *de* joined to *hom*, formed the composite word *prozdom*. See Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge*, Vol. I, p. 113 (1st ed.). *Proz* signified 'having worth.' By extension, depending upon whether the worth was looked upon as physical or moral, *proz* signified 'valiant' or 'worthy,' 'good.' See Godefroy, *op. cit.*, under *preu*, for examples of these meanings of the word.

⁴ Grandoine fut, et vaillant. *Roland*, 1288.—Mout est preudons, Guillaumes li guerriers. *Charroi de Nimes*, 692.

⁵ Mais prodom est et veritable. *Renart*, X, 1495.—Vos estes prodom et honestes. *Renart*, X, 740.—Parlés du bien, le mal lessier, Et les parolles abessier, Dont preudons puet estre honnis. Watrquet, in Bartsch, *Lang. et Lit. Fr.*, 667.—La santé est au corps ce que la preudhommie est en l'esprit.

twelfth century, the meaning, 'a good man,' had largely driven out the meaning, 'a valiant man.'¹

Among most peoples, there exists a certain contempt for moral excellence, a tendency to associate with the idea of "goodness" the idea of "weakness" and the lack of the keen vigor, the physical courage, and the combativeness that are such potent factors in worldly success. A certain by-notion of contempt is contained in such an expression as 'he is a good man,' a certain feeling of superiority on the part of the speaker accompanies the use of such titles as "my worthy fellow," "my good woman," "my honest man." This tendency to deprecate "goodness" is especially strong among the upper classes of society as contrasted with the lower classes who do not seem to attach the same stigma to words or titles which denote moral excellence. Consequently, while, in the texts consulted for this study, *prozdom* was only used by the nobility as a term of condescending superiority for bourgeois, *vilain*, and other inferiors,² it was much employed by the *bourgeoisie* as a title of honor for their fellows and equals as well as for their inferiors.³ These examples of *prozdom* used as a title in direct address occur in texts of the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from the West, North, and Center.

Sagesse de Charron, 349 (St. P.).—Par devant provos et jurés qu'il porteroit sa femme boine pais et loial et le mainteroit comme preudom doit faire sa femme, ms. *Tournai*, 277, fo. 49 (G.).

¹ In the works consulted for this study of a date later than the twelfth century, no example of *prozdom* has been met with in which the word was used in the meaning, 'a valiant man.'

² *Fait Renart*: "Quar tu es preudom." *Renart*, XVI, 418 (noble to *vilain*).—"Prodom, entent a ton afere." *Ibid.*, I, 2305 (noble to *vilain*).—"Prodom," fait il, "di moi la fin." *Durmart le Gaulois*, 1092 (prince to *vilain*).—"Prodom," dist li quens de Bouloigne. *Eustache le Moine*, 875 (count to bourgeois).

³ *Fait li houlrier*: "Sire preudom." *Fabliaux*, V, 59 (*vilain* to fellow *vilain* with whom he is angry).—"Biaus preudons, je n'en vueil plus dir." *Jus Adam*, 234 (doctor to bourgeois).—"Biaus preudons, mes consaus vous loe." *Jus de Pelerin*, 119 (bourgeois to beggar).—"Biaus preudons, par l'ame te mere." *Jus Adam*, 542 (monk to bourgeois).—"Dieu soit o vous, sire preudon." *Fabliaux*, I, 290 (bourgeois to bourgeois).—"Preudom," fet il, "Dieus vous herbert." *Fabliaux*, III, 229 (priest to butcher).

SECTION V.

BONS HOM.

It has been said that a certain by-notion of contempt is often associated with the idea of moral excellence.¹ As a result of this tendency, *bons hom* was never used by men as a title of respect for superiors or equals. In the Middle Ages, *bons hom* was used by nobles as a term of condescending superiority for bourgeois and peasants,² and by members of the lower classes of society as an insult for their fellows. In this latter use, it was often equivalent to 'cocu.'³ In the texts consulted for this study, *bons hom* does not occur as a title in direct address.

SECTION VI.

PETIZ HOM.

Among all peoples and at all periods of their cultural development, a certain feeling of endearment or contempt is always associated with the idea of "smallness." The idea of endearment is shown in such expressions as 'my little girl.' Since what is small is often weak and poor, there is, moreover, a well-defined feeling of contempt for little persons or things; as, for example,

¹ See *supra*, p. 166.

² Si livrent un assaut si dur et si bien ordonné les assailans chevaliers et escuyers et meismement les bons homs du pays. *Perceforest*, Vol. III, fo. 16 (St. P.).—Un chien espagnol en l'ostel d'un bonhomme de village. *Miracles de N. Dame, Theatre Fr. au Moy. Age*, 618.—Le ville estoit moult estreinte de famine et ne pensoient y avoir la dedens de tous vivres pour vivre quatre jours et qu'il n'avoit nul gentilhomme n'autre de defense que les bons hommes de la ville. *Froissart*, Book I, p. 363.

³ Laquelle Jaquette dist audit Lorens en lui presentant a boire: "Tenez, bon homme, buvez!" Lors ledit Lorens se prinst a courroucier. "Tu as menti comme fausse ribaude; je ne suis pas bon homme: car, ma femme est plus prude femme que tu n'es." *Lit. Remiss. in Reg.* 142 (D. C.).—Le suppliant, sans penser a aucun mal, dist a icellui Belua: "Bon homme." A quoi respondit icellui Belua telles paroles: "Comment, bon homme; suis je coque?" *Ibid.*

for little men. In Middle-Age works, *petiz hom* was occasionally used as a term of endearment¹ or as an insult.² In the works consulted for this study, examples occur only in those of the twelfth century from the North and Center.

SECTION VII.

RICHEs HOM.

In texts of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, *riches hom*,³ in the meaning, 'a noble of great power,'⁴ was occasionally used as a title in direct address for nobles of high rank.⁵

SECTION VIII.

MISCELLANEOUS COMPOUNDS OF HOM.

In the texts consulted for this study, there are not more than two examples of the following compounds of *hom* used as titles in direct address.

Jovenes Hom.

"Amis, parole a moi, bachelier, jovenes hom." *Elie de St. Gille*, 587 (noble to *vilain*).—"Joines hom, que veus tu acheter?" *Prose Legends*, 2, 6 (Christ to provost of King of India).

¹ "Petis hon," dist Bernars, "cest prison me garde." *Elie de St. Gille*, 2637 (noble to beloved esquire).

² A voz escrie: "Petiz homs, tu que quiers." *Coronnement Louis*, 505 (noble insulting Pope).

³ The adjective *riches*, derived from the Frankish *richi*, signified 'powerful,' 'possessed of much property and of many vassals.' This meaning is shown in the following example: A gentils reis de riches lin. *Gormand et Isembart*, 48.

⁴ Riches om fut, de grant nobilitet. *Alexis*, 14

In Catalonia and in Spain, *riches hom* signified 'a member of the nobility of high rank.' Ricos homes segunt costumbra de Espana son llamados aquelque en las otras tierras dicen condes o barones. *Siete Partidas*, IV, 25, 137.

⁵ "Eufeumiens, bels sire, riches om." *Alexis*, 216 (beggar to noble of high rank).—"Si di je a vous, riche home, qui ci estes." *Joinville*, p. 238 (noble to noble of high rank).

Hom de Bone Vie.

"Bons hermites, dors tu, homme de bonne vie." *Chev. au Cygne*, 627 (messenger of God to hermit).

Hom de Grant Renommee.

Et dist: "Roys de Surie, hons de grant renommee." *Bast. de Bouillon*, 2902 (noble to king).

Hom de Grant Seigneurie.

Tant qu'il dist au bon roy: "Hons de grant seigneurie." *Bast. de Bouillon*, 4106 (noble to king).

Sainz Hom.

"Mercit, mercit, mercit, saintismes om." *Alexis*, 359 (emperor to noble of high rank).—"Sainz hons," fait il, "enten, enten." *Gautier de Coincy*, 410 (bourgeois to St. Basiles).

Vaillanz Hom.

"E! gentilz quens, vaillanz hom, u ies tu?" *Roland*, 2045 (Roland to a count).

SECTION IX.

FEME.

Like the English word 'woman,' *feme* and its compounds seem to have been considered too bald and vulgar terms to be used as titles in direct address for noble or bourgeois women.¹ The lowest class of society, the *vilain*, however, did not share this delicacy of feeling as regards the vulgarity expressed by the word, and *feme* was occasionally used by them as a title for their women.

In texts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from the West, North, and Center, *feme* and its compounds were used by *vilain* as a title for their wives.²

In works of the thirteenth century from the North, *bone feme* was used by a *vilain* as a title for his woman neighbor.³ This

¹ See *supra*, p. 87.

² "Femme," fait il, "cunseille mei." *Marie de France, Fables*, LXXII, 63 (*vilain* to wife).—"Feme, tu seras mal vestue." *Romanzen*, 42, 19 (*vilain* to wife).

³ Auquant redient: "Bone fame." *Gautier de Coincy*, 562 (*vilain* to woman neighbor).

title, like *bons hom*,¹ seems to have taken on, however, pejorative by-notions and was used by nobles and bourgeois as a title for the women of the lower classes of society for whom the speaker had a feeling of superiority and contempt.²

CHAPTER XVII.

JOVENTE.

In texts of the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from all sections of France, *jovente* in the meaning, 'youth' or 'young girl,' was used by nobles as a title for noble youths and young girls.³

¹ See *supra*, p. 167.

² "Bone feme, que fais tu ci?" *Fabliaus*, V, 158 (provost to *vilain* woman for whom he has contempt).—"Dieus vous saut," fait il, "boine feme." *Fabliaus*, V, 173 (chevalier to beggar woman).

³ "Ates, sire, douce jovente." *Thebes*, 6313 (noble to dead body of young noble).—"Niés Vivien, mar fu, jovente bele." *Aliscans*, 752 (count to nephew).—"Ha!" fait ele, "bele jovente." *Blancaud*, 371 (ed. Michelin) (G.) (noble girl to girl friend).—"Ne dementés, frans hons, jovente bele." *Huon de Bordeaux*, 2631 (noble to young noble).

CHAPTER XVIII.

LAS AND LASSE.

In texts of the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from all sections of France, *las* in the meaning, 'an unfortunate or miserable man,' was employed by kings, priests, nobles, and bourgeois as a title for their fellows in misfortune¹ and as a term of pity for themselves in trouble.²

In works of the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from all sections of the territory, *lasse* in the meaning, 'an unfortunate or miserable woman,' was used by queens, noble ladies, and *bourgeoises* in misfortune as a term of self-pity.³

¹ "Ohi! vos, las, chaitif, dites mei, ke kremeiz?" *St. Thomas*, 1189 (author to miserable priests).—Ains leur disoit: "Quetis, malëureus, et las." *Bast. de Bouillon*, 1142 (noble to fellow nobles in misfortune).

² "Ha! las, com puis de duel morir." *Trote*, 2913 (king in misfortune to himself).—"E! las, caitis, con je me duel." *Ille et Galeron*, 1349 (noble in love to himself).—Soventes fois se claimme las, dolant. *Aliscans*, 717 (count in trouble to himself).—"He las," che dist Elies, "que ne sui adoubës." *Elie de St. Gille*, 1619 (noble in misfortune to himself).—"E! las, com je sui disiteus." *Garçon et Aveugle*, 17 (blind man to himself).—"He! las," dist il, "caitis, malëurës." *Huon de Bordeaux*, 4308 (noble in trouble to himself).—"Ha! las, dolens, com hea ma vie." *Gautier de Coincy*, 578 (repentant sinner to himself).—"He! las," fait il, "de com male eure." *Escoufle*, 5100 (noble in misfortune to himself).—"He! las," fait il, "que porrai dire?" *Floriant et Florette*, 600 (noble in trouble to himself).—"Las, se je tant faire pëusse." *Jehan et Blonde*, 541 (noble in toils of love to himself).—"Las, ge sui cil qui est versës." *Rose*, 4600 (noble in trouble to himself).

³ "Lasse, dolente, que ferai?" *Thebes*, 57 (queen in trouble to herself).—"Deus, que ferai, lasse, cheitive?" *Erec*, 4345 (girl in misfortune to herself).—"Assez ai, lasse, a amender." *Ille et Galeron*, 3094 (noble lady in trouble to herself).—"Lasse, dolente, chetive, que feré?" *Aliscans*, 1745 (countess to herself).—"Lasse, comment vivrai mais jor?" *Bel Desconu*, 1553 (noble girl in trouble to herself).—"Lasse, dolante, a grant tort l'ai maldi." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 1146 (countess in misfortune to herself).—"Lasse, trop sui decëue." *Romansen*,

Toward the end of the period, *las* seems to have tended to lose its original meaning and to become a simple interjection of grief. Since, in the works consulted for this study, there is but one example in which it is certain that *las* was employed¹ as an interjection, and since, in the other examples, the word agrees in gender and number with the speaker, it is concluded that *las* did not become a pure interjection of grief until after the middle of the fourteenth century.

39, 60 (*bourgeoise* in trouble to herself).—"Lasse," fait ele, "quel dolor." *Escoufle*, 4753 (princess in trouble to herself).—"Lasse, dolente," fait Ydoine. *Fabliaux*, V, 227 (*bourgeoise* in misfortune to herself).—"He! lasse, or m'a orgielz traye." *Sone de Noissey*, 1089 (noble girl in toils of love to herself).—"Lasse, je n'ai point d'ami." *Pastorellen*, II, 48, 12 (shepherdess in trouble to herself).—"Lasse, mais ne verrai ma douce mere." *Berte*, 560 (queen in trouble to herself).—"Lasse moi, comment oserai?" *Rustebeuf*, 272 (harlot in trouble to herself).—"Ahi, lasse," dist ele, "com mes corps est marris." *Bast. de Bouillon*, 2386 (princess in trouble to herself).—"Lasse, se j'ay dueil et courroux." *Miracles de N. Dame*, B. XII, 490 (marquise in trouble to herself).

¹"E! las, doulereuse, dolante." *Floriant et Florette*, 3974 (girl in toils of love to herself).

CHAPTER XIX.

MISCELLANEOUS TITLES OF LOVE, AFFECTION, AND ESTEEM.

Persons have been ever wont to extol those whom they love, or for whom they have affection or esteem, by attributing to them qualities of physical, mental, or moral excellence, such as beauty, wisdom, or virtue, or by comparing them to some beautiful object, such as a flower or a precious stone. Titles like 'my beautiful girl,' 'my jewel,' 'my lily,' are consequently frequent. Since the upper classes in society have always clothed the expression of their thoughts in more brilliant imagery than their coarser inferiors, the majority of the love-titles just mentioned are employed, in the Old-French texts consulted for this study, by the nobility.

A. LOVE-TITLES WHICH EXPRESS THE PHYSICAL PERFECTION OF THE HEARER.

Bele.

Throughout the Middle Ages, *bele* was the word that was most frequently used as a term of endearment, esteem, or respect for women. In texts of all periods and from all sections of France, *bele*¹ was used by noble women as a title of esteem or affection for their women friends and especially as a term of endearment for young girls,² by noble men as a term of endearment or

¹ *Bele* early lost its original meaning and became a colorless term of endearment.

² "Bele, puis jeo veoir l'anel?" Marie de France, *Fraïse*, 451 (lady to her prospective mother-in-law).—"Bele, car l'alez conforter!" *Tristran de Thomas*, 1940 (queen to her girl in waiting).—Quant ele est couchié: "Mes beles." *Escoufle*, 3844 (princess to girls in waiting).—Fait ele: "Ma bele, comment?" *Escoufle*, 7314 (countess to sewing girl).—"Cest hanap, bele, en guerredon." *Escoufle*, 5791 (countess making a gift to a

intimacy for young girls whose inferior age or social position gave the speaker a certain fatherly liberty,¹ and by nobles as a love-term for their wives, sisters,² daughters,³ lady-loves, and mistresses.⁴

In works of a date later than the first half of the thirteenth century from the North and Center, *bele* was employed by bourgeois as a term of affection for young girls and as a love-title for their wives, sweethearts, and lady-loves.⁵

girl of the people).—Fait ele: "Hai! bele Aelis." *Escoufle*, 8064 (countess to young princess).—"Bele," la dame li respunt. *Marie de France, Eliduc*, 1085 (noble lady to her woman friend).

¹ *Bele* was used as a title for young girls, wards, girls in waiting, or women of the lower classes of society, to whom the speaker, a noble, could show a certain superiority. For a full discussion of this employment, see *supra*, p. 53.

"Biele, vous en avés mestier." *Chev. aus Deux Espées*, 1411 (king to young princess, his ward).—Et dit donc: "Bele, a vos me plain." *Tristran de Thomas*, 970 (noble to girl in waiting on queen).—Further examples occur in *Fierebras*, 2875;—*Elie de St. Gille*, 2683;—*Bel Desconu*, 284; 488;—*Fabliaus*, III, 17; 19.

² "Bele," ce dit li quens, "par Dé." *Fabliaus*, VI, 108 (count to wife).—"Bele," ce dist li rois, "laissiez ce duel ester!" *Berte*, 530 (king to wife).—"Bele," dist Fierebras, "moult grant tort en avés." *Fierebras*, 5959 (noble to sister).—"Bele," fait il, "n'aiés paor!" *Durmart le Gaulois*, 3718 (noble to sister).

³ "C'est B. bele, onques mais nel vëistes." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 5580 (noble to daughter).

⁴ "Bele," dist Oliviers, "m'amur vos abandun." *Pelerinage de Charlemagne*, 856 (noble to princess, his lady love).—"Bele, or n'i a fors de fûir!" *Tristran de Beroul*, 2095 (noble to queen, his lady love).—"Bele," fet il, "avant venez!" *Erec*, 827 (noble to lady love).—Further examples occur in *Marie de France, Lanval*, 121;—*Flore et Blanchefleur*, 602;—*Fabliaus*, V, 105;—*Aimeri de Narbonne*, 3811;—*Raoul de Cambrai*, 5767; *Chev. a l'Épée*, 974;—*Escoufle*, 5188;—*Pastorellen*, III, 52, 31;—*Robin et Marion*, 165;—*Contes d'Amour*, 4, 10;—*Bast. de Bouillon*, 2067;—*Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VII, 144.

⁵ Et dist: "Bele, traiez vos ça!" *Fabliaus*, V, 13 (bourgeois to his lady love).—"Bele," fet il, "c'est mes poulaina." *Fabliaus*, III, 83 (bourgeois to wife).—"Qui est ce ci, bele?" fait il. *Fabliaus*, IV, 204 (priest to lady love).—"Biele," fait il, "or m'entendes!" *Fabliaus*, II, 33 (miller's apprentice to girl who comes with corn).—"Bele, qui estes vous? dites seurement." *Berte*, 1189 (bourgeois to young girl he meets in woods).—Further examples occur in *Robin et Marion*, 165;—*Berte*, 1298.

Blonde.

Because the majority of French women are brunettes, blonds have always been considered as especially beautiful. In texts of the thirteenth century from the North and Center, *blonde* was used by nobles as a title for their lady-loves.¹

Brunete.

Bele Color.

Bele Char Tendre.

Gent Cors Courtois.

Debonaire.

Petite.

Saverose.

These titles are contained in thirteenth-century texts from the North and Center. They were used by nobles as love-titles for their sweethearts, by mothers as a title of endearment for their children, and by noble ladies as a title of affection or intimacy for their girls in waiting.²

B. LOVE-TITLES WHICH EXPRESS THE MENTAL AND MORAL EXCELLENCE OF THE HEARER.

During the Middle Ages, goodness, gentleness, and intelligence were the qualities most highly prized and such adjectives as *bone*, *douz* and *douce*, and *sage* were frequently employed as titles.

¹ "Blonde, se vos ne m'amez." *Pastorellen*, II, 21, 39 (noble to lady love).—"Saige, blondette, et avenant." *Pastorellen*, II, 42, 18 (noble to lady love).

² Si li dis: "Brunette." *Pastorellen*, III, 23, 28 (noble lover to shepherdess).—"A! beaus enfes, bele color." *Thebes*, 2371 (nurse to noble baby).—"Biau tres douz fiz, bele char tendre." *Rose*, 13942 (mother to son).—"E! gent corps courtois." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VII, 198 (noble to lady love).—"Debonaire, sens retraire." *Pastorellen*, III, 48, 11 (noble lover to shepherdess).—"Ahi! dous amis, debonaire." *Escoufle*, 3214 (noble girl to lover).—"Petites, franchises, et anceles." *Pape Gregoire*, 72 (noble lady to girls in waiting).—"Il n'est mie jors, Saverouze, au cors gent." *Romansen*, 31, 11 (noble lover to shepherdess).

Bone.

In works of the thirteenth century from the North, *bone* was employed by nobles as a love-term for their sweethearts.¹

Douz and Douce.

In texts of the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from all sections of France, *doz* and *douce* were used by nobles as a title for their wives, sisters, and sweethearts, by noble ladies as a title for their lovers and lady friends.²

Sage.

In texts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, *sage* was used by nobles as a title for their sisters and lady-loves.³

C. LOVE-TITLES WHICH EXPRESS THE SOCIAL
PREËMINENCE OF THE HEARER.

In the Middle Ages, noble blood was highly prized and a title that designated the nobility of the hearer was considered of especial honor.

¹ "Avoi, bone et bele." *Pastorellen*, II, 79, 82 (noble lover to shepherdess).—En chantant: "Bele, bone, et sage." *Salu d'Amour*, 1041 (noble to sweetheart).

² "Si m'est, bealz, dulz, suief confort." *Tristran de Thomas*, 2941 (sweetheart to lover).—Grinbert respont: "douce honoree." *Renart*, I, 1933 (noble to sweetheart).—"Doce savoree, vos avez mon cuer entier." *Pastorellen*, III, 3, 18 (noble lover to shepherdess).—"Amie, rose, douce espiee." *Meraugis de Portlesguez*, 3888 (young girl to her great friend).—Further examples occur in *Naiss. du Chev. au Cygne*, 488;—*Escoufle*, 3392;—*Pastorellen*, III, 49, 15;—*Escoufle*, 5125;—*Fabliaux*, III, 830.

³ "Bele sage, je n'ose dire." *Ille et Galeron*, 1440 (noble to sister).—Et chantant: "Bele, bone, sage." *Salu d'Amour*, 1041 (noble to lady love).

Bele Nee.

In works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, *bele nee*, the most popular of these terms, was used by nobles as a love-title for their wives and sweethearts, and as a term of esteem for their women friends.¹

Franche.

*Franche*² occurs in the *Tristan de Beroul* only.³

D. LOVE-TITLES WHICH EXPRESS SOME ESPECIALLY BELOVED PORTION OF THE HEARER'S BODY.

Persons have been ever wont to address those whom they love or for whom they have esteem by terms which designate some portion of the hearer's body that is especially dear to them, or that is considered of great excellence. Love has always been supposed to reside in the eyes or heart, and these members, together with the lips, mouth, etc., have always been the object of a lover's admiration. Furthermore, bravery, courage, and other manly qualities were supposed to emanate from the heart. Consequently, in most languages, such titles as 'dear heart,' 'noble heart,' have been especially popular.

¹ "Por ce me plairoit, bele nee." *Ille et Galeron*, 1433 (noble to his sister).—Doucement li a dit: "Taissiés vous, bele nee!" *Fierebras*, 3377 (noble to young woman, wife of his friend).—"Taisiés vos, bele nee, j'ai un petit enfant!" *Naiss. du Chev. au Cygne*, 2338 (hermit to his adopted child).—"Venés avant, très bele nee." *Durmart le Gaulois*, 2380 (noble to young girl friend).—Further examples occur in *Ille et Galeron*, 5377;—*Fierebras*, 5366;—*Pastorellen*, II, 20, 19; III, 45, 37.

² See discussion of the adjective *frans*, *supra*, p. 160.

³ "Yseut, franche, gente façon." *Tristan de Beroul*, 2261 (noble to sweetheart).

Bouche.

In texts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from the West, North, and Center, *bouche* is employed by lovers as a title for their sweethearts, and by a noble lady as a title for her child.¹

Cuers.

The most extensively used of this class of titles was *cuers*, examples of which are found in works of all periods and from all sections of the territory. Chiefly employed as a term of sexual love,² *cuers* was also used as a title for any person for whom the speaker had affection or esteem.³ Compounded with such pejorative adjectives as *faus* and *couars*, *cuers* was used by abandoned sweethearts as a term of reproach for their faithless lovers.⁴

*Face.**Figure.**Gorge.**Visage.*

¹ "E! petiz enfes, tendre bouche." *Thebes*, 2808 (queen to child).—"Bele bouche, douche pour baisier." *Pastorellen*, III, 48, 12 (noble lover to shepherdess).—"Boche, vermoillette, riant." *Pastorellen*, II, 42, 19 (noble lover to shepherdess).

² "Biaus sire, mis cuers e ma vie." *Pape Gregoire*, 75 (countess to husband).—"Dous cuers," fait il, "Diu en sovienne." *Ille et Galeron*, 4160 (noble to his wife).—"Et li dis: "biau fin cuer dos." *Pastorellen*, III, 3, 12 (noble lover to shepherdess).—"Mes dous cuers, je vous di nouvielea." *Chev. aus Deux Epées*, 5009 (noble to his sweetheart).—Further examples occur in *Aliscans*, 452a;—*Petit Plet*, 1368;—*Pastorellen*, III, 52, 15;—*Escoufle*, 5117;—*Brun de la Mont.*, 3895;—*Miracles de N. Dame*, A, VI, 473; A, VII, 154.

³ This use was probably due to the fact that bravery, courage and other manly qualities were supposed to emanate from the heart. See Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge*, IV.

Si li a dit: "filz, cuer de roi." *Renart*, XII, 13 (noble to his son).—"Ahi!" font il, "cuers de lyon." *Escoufle*, 298 (nobles to their count).—"Di moi, di moi, biau très douz cuers." *Gautier de Coincy*, 609 (bishop to man for whom he has affection).—"Franc cuer de gentil home, or me le di errant!" *Brun de la Mont.*, 1280 (noble to noble, his friend).

⁴ "Covera cuers failli, Retornez vous devers mi!" *Pastorellen*, II, 75,

These titles were but occasionally employed in Old French, each being found in but one example in the works consulted for this study.¹

**E. LOVE-TITLES THAT DESIGNATE SOME BEAUTIFUL
OBJECT TO WHICH THE BELOVED ONE
IS COMPARED.**

Persons have been ever wont to compare those whom they love or for whom they have esteem to some beautiful object, especially to flowers and to precious stones.

Flor.
Rose.
Gemme.
Esmeraude.
Douce Creature.
Douce Rien.
Gentile Chose.

In texts of all periods and from all sections of France, especially from the North, titles in the list just quoted were used by nobles for their sweethearts, by priests for the Virgin, and by girls for their friends.²

16 (shepherdess to faithless lover).—"Fuiés de ci, faus cuers faillis!" *Romanzen*, 69, 43 (woman to her worthless lover).

¹ "Ha, tendre face couloree." *Flore et Blanchefleur*, 738 (priest to sweetheart).—"Ahi, Yseut, bele figure." *Tristan de Beroul*, 1236 (noble to sweetheart).—"Ahi, Blancheflor, cler visage." *Flore et Blanchefleur*, 725 (prince to sweetheart).—"Douce gorgete polie." *Pastorellen*, II, 47, 15 (noble lover to shepherdess).

² "Nicolette, fleur de lis." *Aucassin et Nicolette*, 11, 12 (noble to sweetheart).—"Fleur de pris." *Gautier de Coincy*, 386 (noble to Virgin).—"Fleur de lys." *Gautier de Coincy*, 387 (priest to Virgin).—"Fleur d'englentier." *Gautier de Coincy*, 387 (priest to Virgin).—"Rose fresche et clere." *Gautier de Coincy*, 18 (priest to mistress).—"Rose esmervée, fleur nouvelle." *Gautier de Coincy*, 104 (priest to mistress).—"Fresche rose espanee." *Gautier de Coincy*, 137 (priest to mistress).—"Amie, rose, douce espiee." *Meraugis de Portlesgues*, 2888 (noble girl to girl friend).—"Je vous ai voué, fleur de lis." *Miraacles de N. Dame*, A, I, 11 (noble

F. MISCELLANEOUS LOVE-TITLES.

*Amanz.**Amors.**Dru.**Mes Conforz.**Mes Dedutz.**M'Esperance.**Ma Jote.**Mes Pensees.*

There are not more than two examples of any of the above titles in the works consulted for this study, showing their use to have been but sporadic.¹

lady to Virgin).—"Rose de douce odour paree." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A, I, 1390 (noble to Virgin).—"Morte estes, precieuse jeme." *Flore et Blanchefleur*, 729 (priest to sweetheart).—"Clere esmeraude, clere gemme." *Gautier de Coincy*, 52 (priest to Virgin).—"A! douce rien, mar te portai." *Thebes*, 69 (queen to son).—"Ha!" fait il, "douce creature." *Aucassin et Nicolette*, 10, 17 (noble to sweetheart).—"Ha! très douche creature." *Pastorellen*, III, 41, 45 (noble lover to shepherdess).—"Dame, ne t'esmaier, jentiex chose honoree." *Chev. au Cygne*, 4161 (angel to young noble woman).

¹ "Or entendés, loial amant." *Rose*, 16074 (author to all lovers).—"He! he! amors d'autre päis." *Romanzen*, 12, 4 (woman to lover, a foreigner).—"Amorette, doucette." *Pastorellen*, I, 54, 9 (shepherd to shepherdess).—"Ma chiere drue, que avez?" *Tristran de Beroul*, 3179 (king to queen).—"Diex saut," fait il, "Rainsent me drue." *Renart*, XIX, 185 (noble to lady love).—"Ma joie et mes conforz, mes deduis, mes pensees." *Brun de la Mont.*, 3893 (noble to sweetheart).—"M'esperance, mon cuer, ma dame." *Escoufle*, 5117 (noble to sweetheart).

CHAPTER XX.

MALĚUREZ AND MALĚUREE.

In texts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from the West, North, and Center, *malĚurez* was employed by kings, nobles, and bourgeois in misfortune as a term of self-pity.¹

In works of the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from all sections of the territory, *malĚuree* was used by queens, noble ladies, and women of the lower classes of society in trouble as a term of self-pity.²

¹ "Uns en sui, las, malĚurez." *Thebes*, 9961 (king in misfortune to himself).—Sovent se clame caitis, malĚurés. *Aliscans*, 3540b (noble in trouble to himself).—"Ha! las!" fait il, "malĚurés." *Renart*, XXV, 185 (noble in misfortune to himself).—"He! las," dist il, "caitis, malĚurés." *Huon de Bordeaux*, 4308 (noble in misfortune to himself).—"Las," fait cascuns, "malĚurés." *Escoufle*, 268 (followers of count in misfortune to themselves).

² "Ahi, lasse, malĚuree." *Thebes*, 2373 (noble girl in trouble to herself).—Et dist: "Lasse, malĚuree." *Erec*, 3023 (queen in misfortune to herself).—Et la dame s'escrie: "Ahi, malĚuree." *Chev. au Cygne*, 812 (queen in misfortune to herself).—Puis dist a soi: "MalĚuree." *Fabliau*, V, 146 (*bourgeoise* in trouble to herself).

CHAPTER XXI.

MAISTRE.

In Old French, *maistre*¹ signified 'he who has authority,' and was employed to designate those who had power over persons or property,² who were in charge of ships, falcons, and châteaux,³ and who had authority over their fellows in matters of morals and of learning: the clergyman, the doctor, the lawyer, the savant, and the teacher.⁴

In the earliest Old French, *maistre* was probably employed as a title in direct address for all of these personages, for kings, seigneurs, and noble friends (fictitious authority), as well as for doctors and teachers.⁵ There has always been, however, a

¹ Latin *magister* signified 'he who has authority' and was used as a designation for those who had authority over persons or property, or who had authority over their fellows in matters of morals and learning. Because of the small number of examples of *maistre* used in the texts consulted for this study as a title in direct address, the word and its compounds have been treated together, instead of separately.

² Plusieurs chevaliers et escuyers françois perdirent leurs maistres. . . . *Froissart*, I, p. 153.

³ "Mestres Buesars, ne dormez mie." *Gautier de Coincy*, 213 (merchant to captain of ship).—"Tu seras mestre chastelains." *Meraugis de Portlesgues*, 3186 (noble to director of castle).—Jehanne de France, contesse de Roussillon, baronesse de Mirabeau, Belcaire, a la requete de son maitre d'hotel, donne. . . . *Chartre du Seigneurie d'Affemont*, B. E. C., Vol. XXXV, p. 711.

⁴ O le conseil de maistre Ogrin. *Tristan de Beroul*, 2282 (speaking of a hermit).—Et après i envoia un sien cardinal, Maistre Perron de Capes. *Villeharduin*, 2.—Tant i fait mestre a j maistre Guarnier, Qui la garit, que n'i ot encombrer. *Raoul de Cambrai*, 6270 (speaking of a doctor).—Donne a maitre Raimond Quitard, greffier des dites terres. *Chartre du Seigneurie d'Affemont*, B. E. C., Vol. XXXV, p. 711.

⁵ There are traces of this use for nobles in the *Renart*, where *maistre* was employed by members of the nobility as a term of honor and respect for their friends.

"Par foi," fet Renart, "bau doz mestre." *Renart*, VII, 732 (noble to

tendency on the part of the upper classes of society to look contemptuously on the learned man, associating with the idea of the scholar, pejorative by-notions of pedantry.¹ This tendency was especially strong among the Medieval nobility, both because of the low ebb of scholarship, and because the nobility, being uneducated fighting machines, based their conceptions as to a man's worth upon his physical prowess and upon his superiority in warlike pursuits. Since a Medieval warrior would not be flattered at being addressed by a title also used for doctors and lawyers, it is natural that, in the texts consulted for this study, there should be no examples of *maistre* employed as a title for nobles.

The feeling of contempt that the upper classes of society have always had for learning does not seem to have been shared by the lower classes who have been wont to look upon the learned man with an admiration often akin to awe. Consequently, in works of the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from the West, North and Center, *maistre* was much used by servants, by inferiors, and even by superiors as a title for bourgeois,² by bourgeois as a title for their friends.³

noble friend).—"Non ferai je," fet il, "biau mestre." *Renart*, XII, 416 (noble to noble friend).

These examples lose some of their importance in view of the fact that *maistre* seems to have been a favorite title for the animals in fables (Cf. La Fontaine's *Maitre Corbeau* and *Maitre Renard*) and because the *Renart*, being a bourgeois epic, may have reproduced titles chiefly employed by the *bourgeoisie*. However, even if the word was not in actual use at the time of the composition of the *Renart*, *maistre*, as used as a title in that work, is most probably a remnant of a former employment of the word as a title for nobles. Furthermore, *magister*, in the Folk-Latin, was used, like *dominus*, as a term for all those who had authority over the speaker and was a title of great honor. See Forcellini's Latin Dictionary, under *magister*.

¹ This tendency is illustrated by the pejorative shift of such words as *pedant* or *pedagogue*, originally signifying 'he who teaches.'

² "Nenil, nenil," fet ele, "mestre." Marie de France, *Fables*, LXII, 81 (servant to *vilain*).—"Ahi, maistre, ja l'ai jou tel." *Escoufle*, 7838 (servant to bourgeois).—"Foi que doi vous, maistre Henri." *Jus d'Adam*, 200 (doctor to bourgeois).—"Maistre, se vous le me laissiés." *Jus d'Adam*, 174

In works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from the North and Center, *maistre* and its compounds were employed as titles in direct address for men who had authority over ships, falcons, etc., for ship captains, masters of the hounds, masters of some instrument (*jongleur*) and *majordomos*.¹

Moreover, in texts of all periods and from all sections of France, *maistre* and its compounds were used as titles in direct address for clerics,² doctors, lawyers,³ and *savants*.⁴

(clerc to bourgeois).—*Maistre Adans li Boche estoit chi apelés. Jus du Pelerin*, 25 (speaking of a bourgeois).—"Maistre, Or essayons s'il m'est a point." *Miracles de N. Dame*, B. XI, 100 (noble to bourgeois).

¹ In North France and in England, *maistre* later tended to become the title chiefly employed for bourgeois: cf. use of English "master."

² "Mestre," fet il, "ou somes nos?" *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, 2383 (king to captain of a ship).—"Mestre Buesars, ne dormez mie!" *Gautier de Coincy*, 213 (merchant to captain of a ship).—Fait il: "Maistre, qu'avés vos hui?" *Escoufle*, 7106 (noble to the director of his falcons).—Fait il: "Esgardés, sire mestre!" *Escoufle*, 6638 (pilgrim to keeper of the horses).—Further examples occur in *Meraugis de Portlesgues*, 3186;—*Escoufle*, 6706;—*Berte*, 295.

³ "Mestre Guntier," fet il, "vus desirrez forment!" *St. Thomas*, 4186 (Archbishop to one of his clerks).—"Maistres, il n'ira mie ensi." *Jus d'Adam*, 37 (bourgeois to clerk).—"C'on m'apeloit seignor et mestre." *Miracle de St. Theophile*, 48 (vice-dominus speaking of himself).—"Maistre d'outre meir et de France." *Rustebeuf*, I, 143 (speaking of templar).—"Maistres, vous direz au messaige." *Joinville*, 280 (king to templar).

⁴ "Mestre," dist il, "entendez ça?" *Fabliaux*, III, 166 (king to doctor).—"Maistres, qu'est che chi qui me lieve?" *Jus d'Adam*, 227 (bourgeois to doctor).—"Mestre, meint jor lit en avez." *Renart*, XXIII, 1347 (noble to necromancer).—"Maistre," dist il, "il m'est avis." *Sept Sages*, 398 (prince to wise man).—"Beau maistre," fait la dame, "e de mei que serra." *Alexandre*, 211 (queen to astronomer).—"Mestre," dist il, "por Dieu, que vaut ça?" *Fabliaux*, V, 259 (king to wise man).—"Et vous, Baudri, biau mestre, qui tant es prisé." *Maugis d'Aigremont*, 2038 (sister to wise man).—"Or beauez maistre, je te pri que." *Prose Legends*, E, 2, 13 (noble pupil to his teacher).—"Maistre, ja m'a Dex fait merci." *Triestran de Beroul*, 979 (noble to his teacher).—"Maistre," fait Elyas, "je vous veul demander." *Chev. au Cygne*, 1324 (noble to his teacher).—"A Dieu, Guillaume, a Dieu, biau mestre!" *Escoufle*, 1911 (noble to teacher).

"Mestre Maugis estoit a Tolete appelez, Des autres mestres fu tenuz li plus senez. *Maugis d'Aigremont*, 2544 (speaking of a student).

CHAPTER XXII.

MESCHINE.

In Old French, *meschine* signified 'young girl.'¹ Since the ideas of dependence and servitude have always been associated with the idea of youth, and since, in the Middle Ages, young girls performed the menial tasks of the household, *meschine* shifted from signifying 'young girl' to signifying 'maid servant.'² This shift seems to have taken place before the thirteenth century.

In the texts consulted for this study, *meschine* is used as a title in direct address in the *Aucassin et Nicolette* only. In these examples, the word is used by a noble as a title for his sweetheart.³

¹ Cele meschine Blanceflour. *Flore et Blanchefleur*, 14, 1.

² Avoit en a son service, Une meschine bele et blonde. Mousquet, *Chronique*, 737 (ed. Reiffenberg).

³ "Mescinete o le cuer franc." *Aucassin et Nicolette*, 15, 5 (noble to sweetheart).

CHAPTER XXIII.

OSTES.

In texts of the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from the North and Center, *ostes* and its compound, *beaus ostes*, in the meaning, 'he who offers me hospitality,'¹ were much used by nobles, priests, and bourgeois as a title for men of all classes and ranks of society who were offering hospitality to the speaker, and especially as a title for innkeepers.²

¹ In Old French, *ostes* signified 'a farmer of a rank between that of a free man and a serf, who, in return for grants of land, owed certain services to some seigneur.'

Et voill et otri que li ostes d'environ les dites vignes, c'est a savoir le loing et de pres, soient tenuz a euls clorre pour le dit prieur de couvent ausi comme il estoient quant la dite terre me vint. *Archives de Loiret, ann.* 1267, K. P.³ A. (G.)

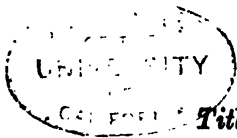
Ostes also signified 'he who offers hospitality.'

Et dist: "Sire, veez vos ci Mon buen oste, mon buen ami." *Erec*, 6607 (noble referring to *vavasseur* who has given him shelter).

Ostes also signified 'he who receives hospitality.'

"Je fus estes et vous me recēustes." *Ric. St. Ben. ms. Angers, fo. 15* (G.)

² "Biaus ostes, verité provee." *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, 2922 (noble to innkeeper).—"Daires, biaus ostes, que ferai?" *Flore et Blanchefleur*, 2109 (noble to bourgeois, his host).—"Biax ostes, bien ait il peroec." *Ille et Galeron*, 5607 (noble to landlord).—"Hostes," dist il, "ben estes consilliés." *Ogier*, 4283 (noble messenger to king, his host).—"Ôil, voir, ce sui ge, beaus hosts." *Renart*, XII, 66 (noble to noble, his host).—"Qu'avés?" fait l'esvesques, "biaus hosts." *Gautier de Coincy*, 528 (bishop to rich bourgeois, his host).—"Biaus ostes, que mon non vous die." *Chev. aux Deus Epées*, 3789 (noble to hermit who has given him shelter).—"Ostes," dist Hues, "por Diu, que me dirés." *Huon de Bordeaux*, 4438 (noble to provost, his host).—"Dites, biax hosts, par Dieu de paradis." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 7069 (noble to innkeeper).—"Ostes, a Dieu, priés pour nous." *Jus de St. Nicholas*, 991 (patrons to innkeeper).—"Ostes, chou est eurs, et biens." *Fabliaux*, IV, 30 (priest to innkeeper).—"Ostes, comment va nos affaires?" *Jus d'Adam*, 764 (priest to innkeeper).—"Ostes, yer soir i fu mandés." *Sone de Noissey*, 3077 (noble to bourgeois, his host).—"Biaus ostes," dist li cambrelans. *Fabliaux*, IV, 28 (priest to landlord of inn).—



In texts of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries from the North and Center, *ostes* and *beaus ostes* in the meaning, 'he who receives hospitality,' were used by nobles, priests and innkeepers as titles for their guests.¹

CHAPTER XXIV.

PUCELE.

In Old French, *pucele* signified 'an unmarried girl,' or 'a virgin girl.'² In texts of all periods and from all sections of France, *pucele* was used by nobles, clergymen, and bourgeois as a title for young virgins of all classes and ranks of society.³

"Biaus hostes, veuillez moi entendre." *Miracles de N. Dame*, B. XII, 928 (noble to innkeeper).

¹ "Ostes," dist li ermites, "j'en sui pere adoptis." *Naiss. du Chev. au Cygne*, 1882 (hermit to soldier, his guest).—"Biaus ostes, vous ne devez waires." *Jus d'Adam*, 965 (innkeeper to priest, his guest).—"Biaus ostes, fetes vo talent." *Fabliaux*, III, 233 (priest to butcher, his guest).

² In the *Erec*, a young girl is mentioned, who, after passing the first night with her husband,

Ot perdu le non de pucele, Au matin fu dame novele. *Erec*, 2107.

Occasionally, *pucele* seems to have signified 'young woman,' the idea of virginity being lost. So, in the following example:

Et trente mile puceles, Qui dames, ki dammaiseles. *Lai du Corn*, 13 (G.)

³ "Oz mei, pulcele? Celui tien ad espous Qui nos redemat de son sanc precious." *Alexis*, 66 (Alexis to his wife, a virgin).—"Franches dames, franchises puceles." *Troie*, 2901 (king to young girls of Troy).—"Pucele," fait il, "Dix vos saut!" *Ille et Galeron*, 938 (noble to noble girl whom he has just met).—"Dites, pucele, ne me celés vos mie!" *Ogier*, 1788 (Christian noble to Saracen princess).—"Pucele," dist li rois, "qui vos envoia ca?" *Naiss. du Chev. au Cygne*, 2668 (king to young girl of the people).—"Comment est," dist a li, "pucele, bele nee." *Naiss. du Chev. au Cygne*, 2435 (bourgeois woman to young girl).—Further examples occur in *Meraugis de Portlesguez*, 5100;—*Chev. au Deux Épées*, 590;—*Escoufle*, 2954;—*Bel Desoenu*, 2530;—*Fabliaux*, III, 265;—*Robin et Marion*, 17;—*Rustebeuf*, 66, 58;—*Floriant et Florette*, 3308;—*Bast. de Bouillon*, 2352;—*H. Capet*, 699.

CHAPTER XXV.

SERJANZ.

In the early Middle Ages, *serjanz* signified 'he who serves' and was used especially as the term for those men of the lower classes of society who served as retainers in the households or followings of members of the nobility.¹ These retainers performed the duties of domestic servants. They also, in the capacity of men-at-arms, on horse and afoot, armed with a halbert, mace, and leather armor, followed their lord afield on his warlike expeditions. *Serjanz*, consequently, was employed in both the meaning, 'a domestic servant,'² and, 'a man-at-arms.'³

Because of the change in the method of warfare in the thirteenth century, by virtue of which the common soldier became of great importance, those *roturiers* who acted as men-at-arms

¹ Because, in the last analysis, all the followers of a seigneur, both noble and *roturier*, were his servants, there are examples of *serjans* employed as a designation for a man of noble birth. These examples are extremely rare, however, and none have been met with in the texts consulted for this study in works of a period later than the twelfth century. An example of *serjanz* used as a designation for a noble is the following:

"Qar n'avés plus hardi serjant." *Renart*, I, 1404 (noble speaking to the king concerning one of his nobles of high rank).

² Li boens serganz kil serveit volentiers. *Alexis*, str. 68.—Aprés mangier, ostent les napes Li sergant qui doivent ester. *Robert le Diable* (D. C.)—Quant il est ore de mangier Li maistre serjanz fait drecier La table. *Durmart le Gaulois*, 333.

³ Voit Broifort enmi la prairie, Ou l'asaloient li serjant de maisnié. *Ogier*, 5585.—Et li cris lieve et la noise, et li cevalier, et li serjant s'arment et geurent as portes et as murs. *Aucassin et Nicolette*, 8, 5.—Bien estoit garniz de chevaliers Et de serjanz et de aubalestriers. *Meneestre de Reims*, 209 (ed. Wailly).—El palais avoit chevaliers, Serjans, vallés, et escuriers. *Durmart le Gaulois*, 437.—"Serjans a cheval et a pié." *Villeharduin*, 91.—E il i vint molt richement O beles armes e destriers E o deus cenz serjanz armez. *Guillaume le Marechal*, 13770 (ed. Meyer).—Mult pëussiez vëir uns e altres trembler Chamberlains e serjanz e esquiers haster. *Wace, Rou*, 3506.—"Povrement en irés a ce premier, Que ne menrés sergant ne escuier." *Aiol*, 238 (ed. Normand).

were allowed to devote their entire attention to the mastery of that profession, and were not also obliged, as was formerly the case, to serve in the capacity of domestics. Consequently, in the course of the thirteenth century, *serjanz* lost its meaning, 'a domestic servant,' and became the term used to designate 'a man-at-arms.'¹

As a substitute for the menial services that he had previously performed in times of peace, there was assigned to the *serjanz* the policing of the country, a task which the attempt of the royal power to restore peace to the country had rendered necessary. They were consequently entrusted with the care of the châteaux, fields, game, fish and forest preserves, and with the guarding of prisoners and criminals: in this capacity they corresponded to the modern '*gendarme*' or '*garde champêtre*.' *Serjanz* consequently lost, in many instances, its meaning, 'man-at-arms,' and shifted to mean 'policeman,' '*gendarme*.'²

¹ Et quant aucuns des chasteaux, qui sont en frontiere, escherront, nous y mettront des sergens d'armes, qui garderont lesdits chasteaux pour leurs gages de la mace. *Statutes de Philippe V, Pontisarcæ*, 18th of July, 1318 (D. C.).

² Que il pour la raison de ladite serjanterie d'Anvers estoit tenu a garder les prés audits Abbé et couvent, les bois, les garennes, la justice de l'iaue, mettre les bornes, faire les vettes, garder les prisons et les prisonniers, faire les semonces et les adjournemens, gagier les hommes de ladite ville, et prendre en tous cas ou il afera, et faire toute maniere de service qui appartient a serjant, soit en gardant ou en justiciant. *Tabul. S. Dionysii*, ann. 1284 (D. C.).

These *serjants* were also called *serjants de l'épée* and the expression, *sergent de la paix*, may have been a folk etymology.

Les serjans de l'espée doivent tenir les vettes et doivent faire les semonces et les commandemens des assises et faire tenir ceu que jugié y est: si doivent les nans delivrer qui sont pris, gardé sus ce l'ordre de droit: et si doivent avoir de chascune velle soustenir .11. den. et autres si de chascune non que il delivrent: et pour ce sont il dis serjans de l'espée. Quar, il doivent justicier vertueusement a l'espée tous les malfetens et tous ceux qui suient malveses compagnies, gens diffamez d'aucuns crimes, et gens fuitis et forbannis, et les doivent o la glaive de l'espée et avec autres armes si vigoureusement justicier que la bonne gent qui sont paisibles feussent par les serjans de l'espée gardez paisiblement et que les malfeteurs soient espoantez et punis selon droit: et a ce furent les serjans de l'espée prin-

For the same cause as *vassals*,¹ *serjanz* was rarely used as a title in direct address. In the works of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries from the West, North, and Center that have been consulted for this study, there are but five examples of *serjanz* employed as a title in direct address.² In works before the thirteenth century and in texts from the East there are no examples of such a use.

cipalement establis. *Coutumes de Normandie*, Part I, sect. I, chap. 11 (ed. Salmon).

In his performance of police duties, a *serjans* was often called upon to carry summonses and to act as messenger of the law courts. Hence, the later meaning, '*huissier*,' that the word developed.

¹ See chapter on *vassals*.

² "Levez, serganz, hastivement!" *Resurrection du Sauveur*, 85 (Pilate to his soldiers).—Gr. escrie: "Armés vous, chevalier, E .i. et autre, serjans et escuier." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 8621 (noble to his men-at-arms).—"Signor sergent, et de ceste uevre." *Fabliaus*, IV, 21 (landlord to his servants).—"Venez en tuit, bonne gent honoree, Serjant, borgois, chevalier, gent letree." *Amis et Amiles*, 3176 (count to men-at-arms).—"Or tost, sergens, sanz plus attendre." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VII, 371 (Pope to his men-at-arms).

CHAPTER XXVI.

SIRE AND ITS COMPOUNDS.

SECTION I.

SIRE.

A. *Sire* used as a Title for the Nobility.

1. *SIRE* USED IN THE "NORMAL" MEANING, 'HE WHO HAS AUTHORITY.'

In the earliest Old French, the "normal" meaning of *sire*¹ was 'he who has authority,'² and the word was used as a designation for God,³ as having authority over the universe; for the emperor, king⁴ and feudal seigneurs,⁵ as possessing authority over the country; and for husbands, lovers⁶ and fathers,⁷ as having authority over their wives, sweethearts and children. Throughout the entire Old-French period, and in all sections

¹ Because of its frequent atonic use as a title in direct address, Latin *senior* developed a form *seior* (O. F. *sire*). This form, originally employed as a title in direct address only, came to assume the other functions of the nominative, and was adopted as the nominative form.

² In Latin, *senior* originally signified 'an old man.' Since, according to Roman ideas, authority was the attribute of age, *senior* came to signify 'he who has authority.' This shift in meaning took place before the date of the earliest Old-French texts. This meaning is best brought out in the derived word *seignorage*, and in such examples as the following:

"Sires seras de cest affaire." *Troie*, 3758.—Les vessiaus dont il est sires. *G. Guiart*, fo. 332 (St. P.)—Cil seulement qui edefient sont signer de ces edefemens. *Digeste*, ms. *Montpellier*, H. 47, fo. 9 (G.).

³ "Damoisele, por sire amer." *Flors et Blanchefleur*, 2401.

⁴ Et Karlus meos sendra. *Oaths of Strasburg*.—Firent Agamemnon seignor. *Troie*, 5025.—"Vëez ici vostre seignor naturel." *Villeharduin*, 146.

⁵ Dinas, le sire de Dinan. *Tristran de Beroul*, 1085.—Je que vostre sire sui. *Villeharduin*, 65.

⁶ "Vostre seignor, si vos en lo." *Erec*, 3047.

⁷ "Ki sun seigneur ot tant pleuree." *Marie de France*, *Fables*, XXV, 19.

of the territory, *sire* in the "normal" meaning was used as a title in direct address for the above-mentioned personages.

Of the total number of the examples of the word used in the works consulted for this study ¹ as a title in direct address for the nobility, *sire* in the "normal" meaning, 'he who has authority,' ² was employed by persons of all ranks and classes of society as a title for kings in the following per cent. of cases:

Early Period: 76%, from the West and Center.³

Twelfth century: 43%, from all sections of the territory.⁴

First half of the thirteenth century: 23%, from all sections of the territory.⁵

Second half of the thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries: 11%, from all sections of the territory.⁶

¹ For explanation of percentage system, see *supra*, p. 17.

² Influenced by the "transferred" meaning, *sire*, used as a title for a king, tended to lose its meaning, 'he who has authority,' and to signify simply 'sir.' At all times, however, a shade of the original "normal" meaning still remained. As a title for kings, *sire* generally signified 'he who has authority over me' as well as simply 'he who has authority.'

³ *Dient al rei*: "Sire, nos vos prium." *Roland*, 3808 (noble to Emperor Charles).—*Paient respondunt*: "Sire, mult dites bien." *Roland*, 2685 (Saracen noble to king).

⁴ "Non ferai, sire," dit Guillaume li bers. *Charroi de Nimes*, 60 (count to king).—"Sire, li reis Henris," funt li li messenger. *St. Thomas*, 2216 (noble to Pope).—"Sire, j'ai non Guiz de Galveide!" *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, 2265 (bourgeois to king).—"Sire, n'a plus en c'est escrit." *Tristran de Beroul*, 2620 (priest to king).—"Sire," fet l'arcevesques, "et de votre fil quei?" *St. Thomas*, 1316 (archbishop to king).—Other examples occur in *Prise d'Orange*, 439;—*Charroi de Nimes*, 1107;—*Marie de France*, *Bisclavret*, 283;—*Thebes*, 2039, 2053;—*Erec*, 5599;—*Adamspiel*, 77;—*Aucassin et Nicolette*, 32, 3;—*Renart*, XXIII, 1433;—*Sept Sages*, 3282;—*Tristran de Beroul*, 3764;—*Guillaume d'Angleterre*, 92.

⁵ "Sire," fait il, "mon don vos quier." *Bel Desconu*, 205 (noble of high rank to the king).—"Sire," dist Hues, "Dix qui tot puet salver." *Huon de Bordeaux*, 2490 (noble to Pope).—"Sire," font il, "ce ne vaut preu!" *Esooufle*, 2770 (noble to king).—Wistasces dist; "Sire, merci!" *Eustache le Moine*, 1887 (monk to king).—Other examples occur in *Aimeri de Narbonne*, 2076;—*Raoul de Cambrai*, 5156;—*Chev. au Cygne*, 6363, 6899;—*Jus de St. Nicolas*, 381;—*Merlin*, 34;—*Naiss. du Chev. au Cygne*, 192;—*Chev. aus Deux Épées*, 361.

⁶ "Sire, je en sai une, par le cors St. Omer." *Berte*, 106 (noble to king).—"Sire," fet le Breton, "je vus dirroi." *Fitz-Warren*, 18 (retainer to

Of the total number of the examples of the word used in the works consulted for this study as a title in direct address for the nobility, *sire* in the "normal" meaning, 'he who has authority,'¹ was employed by persons of all classes of society as a title for feudal seigneurs in the following per cent. of cases:

Early Period: 4%, from the West.²

Twelfth century: 12%, from all sections of the territory.³

First half of the thirteenth century: 20%, from all sections of France.⁴

Second half of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries: 11%, from all sections of the territory.⁵

king).—"Sire, je pri a Dieu le vray." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A, IV, 93 (servant to king).—Other examples occur in *Bast. de Bouillon*, 4727;—*H. Capet*, 310;—*Fabliaux*, II, 242; IV, 42; V, 98.

¹ As a title in direct address for feudal seigneurs, *sire*, when used by followers, signified 'he who has authority over me.' Influenced by the "transferred" meaning, *sire*, used as a title for feudal seigneurs, tended to lose its meaning, 'he who has authority,' and to become a colorless title, equivalent to '*monsieur*.' At all times, however, a shade of the original meaning remained.

² "Sire," dist il, "morz est tes provendiers." *Alexis*, 339 (retainer to noble seigneur).—Dist as paiens: "Seigneur, sachiez par feid." *Roland*, 1482b (king to his noble followers of high rank).—"Seigneurs," dist l'emperere, "un petit m'entendez." *Pelerinage de Charlemagne*, 67 (king to noble followers of high rank).

³ "Sire," font il, "que avez en pensé?" *Charroi de Nimes*, 821 (noble followers to Count William).—"Mes de vos, sire, qui tant par estes bers." *Charroi de Nimes*, 41 (noble to noble, his overlord and uncle).—"Sire," font il, "ci prés de nus." Marie de France, *Fraigne*, 341 (noble followers to overlord).—"Sire," dist il, "si con vos comandés." *Ogier*, 3745 (esquire to overlord).—"Sire," fet il, "sanz nul redot." *Erec*, 6034 (noble to noble, his conqueror).—Other examples occur in the *Fabliaux*, III, 25;—*Trois*, 882;—*Erec*, 3255;—*Renart*, XI, 2331; XIII, 640.

⁴ "Sire," dist il, "bien vos sera noncié!" *Aimeri de Narbonne*, 3011 (noble to overlord).—"Sire, en ma terre le dist hom." *Escoufle*, 7380 (servant to noble overlord).—Other examples occur in the *Raoul de Cambrai*, 1984, 6289;—*Romaneen*, 58, 47;—*Fabliaux*, VI, 71;—*Chev. aus Deus Epées*, 5252;—*Durmart le Gaulois*, 3786, 9135;—*Escoufle*, 7262.

⁵ "Sire," dit Savaris. ".l. cuens de Boniment." *Maugis d'Aigremont*, 118 (count to overlord).—"Sire," fait il, "gel vos dirai." *Fabliaux*, VI, 107 (cook to count, his master).—Other examples occur in the *Flore et*

Of the total number of the examples of the word used in the works consulted for this study as a title in direct address for the nobility, *sire* in the "normal" meaning, 'he who has authority,' or 'he who has authority over me,' was employed by noble women as a title for their husbands and sweethearts in the following per cent. of cases:

Early Period: 4%, from the West.¹

Twelfth century: 15%, from all sections of the territory.²

First half of the thirteenth century: 15%, from all sections of the territory.³

Second half of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries: 17%, from the North and Center.⁴

Of the total number of the examples of the word used in the works consulted for this study as a title for the nobility, *sire*, in the "normal" meaning, 'he who has authority,' or 'he who has authority over me,' was employed by nobles as a title for their fathers in the following per cent. of cases:

Jehane (O. F. N.), 90;—*Fabliaux*, I, 63, II, 109;—*Brun de la Mont.*, 3251;—*Maugis d'Aigremont*, 4477.

¹ "Se vos aim mult, sire," dist ele al cunte. *Roland*, 635 (noble woman to lover).—"Sire," dist ele, "com longe demorede." *Alexis*, 468 (wife to Alexis).

² "Sire, por Deu, dont venez vos?" *Tristran de Beroul*, 389 (queen to king).—"Sire," fet ele, "je ne fai." *Erec*, 2526 (wife to noble).—"Aucasins, damoisax, sire." *Aucassin et Nicolette*, 5, 17 (girl to lover, a noble).—Other examples occur in the *Erec*, 1217;—*Flore et Blanchefleur*, 311;—*Ogier*, 158, 1691;—*Marie de France*, *Bisclavret*, 79;—*Fabliaux*, III, 14;—*Ille et Galeron*, 4113;—*Aliscans*, 1804;—*Sept Sages*, 2576.

³ "Sire," dist la roine al roi. *Durmart le Gaulois*, 9685 (queen to husband).—"Sire," ce dist la dame, "por Deu le fil Marie!" *Chev. au Cygne*, 6684 (wife to noble).—"Granz merci, sire," dist la dame au aler vis. *Aimeri de Narbonne*, 3292 (noble girl to lover).—Other examples occur in the *Chev. au Cygne*, 62;—*Fabliaux*, I, 229; IV, 71;—*Durmart le Gaulois*, 243;—*Romanzen*, 37, 31.

⁴ Et dit: "Sire, se il est tex." *Jehan et Blonde*, 187 (countess to husband).—"Dites lou moi, sire, se je pöoie." *Romanzen*, 44, 13 (noble lady to lover).—Other examples occur in the *Fabliaux*, II, 155; III, 83; VI, 105;—*Robin et Marion*, 14;—*Berte*, 3124;—*Brun de la Mont.*, 68;—*Miracles de N. Dame*, B, XII, 8,

Early Period: 4%, from the West.¹

Twelfth century: 6%, from all sections of the territory.²

First half of the thirteenth century: 6%, from the North and Center.³

Second half of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries: 5%, from the Center.⁴

2. *SIRE* USED IN THE "TRANSFERRED" MEANING, 'MY HONORED SIR' OR '*MONSIEUR*.'

a. *Sire* used by Inferiors as a Title for Nobles.

With a view to obtaining favors and good will, there has always been a tendency to flatter superiors. Parasites, sycophants and courtesans, driven by the need of shelter, food, and money, courtiers and dependents of all kinds, impelled by self-interest, always swarm around the powerful, their tongues tipped with praise and flattery. Furthermore, besides this interested and baser form of flattery, there exists in most men a desire to please their fellows, and this desire impels them to bestow praise and honor where it is not strictly due. Flattery, whether disinterested or not, depends for its success upon the vanity of the hearer. There is no form of vanity that is more legitimate or more universal than the desire which exists in

¹ Dist a sun pere: "Sire, car cevalchun." *Roland*, 3178 (son to king).—"Or sui jo vedre, sire," dist la pucelle. *Alexis*, 491 (noble girl to father).

² "Sire," fait il, "en meie fei." *Troie*, 6224 (son to king).—"Sire," dist ele, "le danois avés pris." *Ogier*, 2059 (son to noble).—Other examples occur in the *Erec*, 2737;—*Flore et Blanchefleur*, 211;—*Elie de St. Gille*, 1724.

³ "Sire," dist Teufés, "a vostre plaisir iert!" *Huon de Bordeaux*, 216 (son to emperor).—Other examples occur in the *Durmart le Gaulois*, 510;—*Raoul de Cambrai*, 2226.

⁴ "Sire, pour Dieu laissiés encore." *Jehan et Blonde*, 2240 (daughter to count).—Other examples occur in the *Berte*, 136;—*Floriant et Florette*, 2931;—*H. Capet*, 4076;—*Brun de la Mont.*, 2777;—*Maugis d'Aigremont*, 3258.

most men to be considered of importance in their community, to be held in greater honor than their fellow beings. One of the easiest methods of touching this vanity is to address the individual in question by a title that distinguishes him from, and raises him above, the mass of his fellows. If the individual, by virtue of his own merit or by right of birth, actually occupies a position in society above that of his fellows, the use of such a title carries with it no flattery. If the hearer does not occupy a rank commensurate with the title by which he is addressed, the use of such a title carries with it a large degree of flattery. Such a use of a title for a man who is not entitled to it has always been a favorite method of flattery. To address a captain as 'colonel,' a prestidigitator as 'professor,' a police magistrate as 'judge,' are examples of this method, while who has not been accosted as 'boss' or 'governor' by a negro porter, or as '*mon prince*' by a Paris *gamin*? Therefore, while *sire* signifying 'he who has authority'¹ was, in the Early Period, generally employed as a title for kings and feudal seigneurs only,² a servant or dependent, who was especially desirous of flattering, would address as *sire* a man who was not entitled, by virtue of authority over some territorial division, to such a designation. This use of the word by dependents was a fairly legitimate one, because the hearer did actually possess some authority over the speaker who could have employed *sire* in the meaning, 'he who has authority over me.' However, since the word was one originally used chiefly as a title for the "masters" of the country, the dependent, in using it, subtly showed that he considered that the person addressed was, or should be, the equal of those "masters."

Besides being used by dependents, *sire*, either in the meaning, 'he who has authority,' or 'he who has authority over me,' also came to be employed by inferiors as a title for a noble who was not only not entitled to such an appellative but upon whom the

¹ See *supra*, pp. 191 ff.

² The use for husbands, lovers and fathers, excepted.

speaker was in no way dependent. This misuse was due both to the desire of the speaker to indicate that the hearer was, or should be, of a rank which entitled him to be designated as *sire*, and also to the fact that the speaker wished to place himself under the hearer's fictitious authority. Self-abasement has always been a favorite method of flattery and the tendency of a speaker to conciliate a hearer by placing himself under the hearer's fictitious authority can be seen in such expressions as 'your humble servant.' *Sire* was originally thus misemployed by men greatly inferior in rank to the hearer but soon came to be used by any noble of only slightly inferior rank, or by a bourgeois, as a title for a noble whom he desired to honor. In this use, *sire* at once lost its meaning, 'he who has authority' or 'he who has authority over me,' and, shifting to mean 'my honored sir,' eventually came to be a negative, colorless title, equivalent to '*monsieur*.' This shift had taken place before the date of the earliest Old-French texts.

Of the total number of the examples of the word employed in the works consulted for this study as a title in direct address for the nobility, *sire*, in the "transferred" meaning, 'my honored sir,' or '*monsieur*,' was used by inferiors, both noble and bourgeois, as a title for nobles in the following per cent. of cases:

Early Period: 2%, from the West.¹

Twelfth century: 10%, from all sections of the territory.²

¹ "Je le desfi, sire, vostre veiant." *Roland*, 287 (noble to noble of higher rank).

² "Sire, vos m'avés tant doné." *Ille et Galeron*, 1480 (noble of low rank to noble of high rank).—"Quel part s'an vont?" "Sire, par ci." *Erec*, 4370 (young girl to noble of high rank).—"Par Mahom, sire, de Hauai desus Cler." *Charroi de Nimes*, 891 (*vilain* to noble).—"Sire," dist l'ostes, "ou devés vos aler?" *Aliscans*, 2538 (bourgeois to noble).—Other examples are found in the *Prise d'Orange*, 217;—*Aucassin et Nicolette*, 4, 10; 22, 24;—*Sept Sages*, 4282;—*Marie de France*, *Guigemar*, 445;—*Thebes*, 2192, 2233;—*Renart*, XIII, 293, XVI, 482;—*Tristran de Beroul*, 909, 3382;—*Ille et Galeron*, 984, 5583;—*Flore et Blanchefleur*, 1;—*Marie de France*, *Eliduc*, 831;—*Aliscans*, 7376;—*Elie de St. Gille*, 597.

First half of the thirteenth century: 15%, from all sections of the territory, except the East.¹

Second half of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries: 26%, from all sections of the territory except the East.²

b. *Sire* used by Equals as a Title for Nobles.

It has been said³ that there exists a desire on the part of most men to be on friendly terms with their intimates, that this desire often impels them to bestow honor where it is not due, and, finally, that the self-abasement of the speaker was a favorite method of conciliation and flattery.⁴ A noble, therefore, often addressed as *sire* a friend who was not entitled to such a designation and who was his equal in rank, thereby either inferring his friend's qualification for such an appellation or placing himself under his friend's fictitious authority. In this use, *sire* at once lost all its original meaning, 'he who has authority' or 'he who has authority over me,' and became a

¹ "Sire, nos volons que vous ayez votre conseil." *Villeharduin*, 17 (noble to noble of higher rank).—A crier: "Seignor, que vous samble?" *Escoufle*, 3520 (herald to assembly of nobles).—"Ceste chançon, seignor, dont je vos di." *Aimeri de Narbonne*, 14 (author to hearers).—"Sire," fait il, "vos alés bien." *Durmart le Gaulois*, 9367 (*vilain* to noble).—Et ele respont: "Seigneur, je voi bien." *Merlin*, 23 (bourgeois woman to noble judges).—Other examples are found in *Aimeri de Narbonne*, 3011;—*Raoul de Cambrai*, 2160;—*Durmart le Gaulois*, 6108;—*Escoufle*, 7342;—*Rose*, 3396;—*Huon de Bordeaux*, 393;—*Alexandre*, 22;—*Fabliaux*, I, 168;—*Eustache le Moine*, 594, 1022;—*Merlin*, 5.

² "Sire," ce dist li chevaliers. *Fabliaux*, VI, 98 (*chevalier* to count).—Li dist: "Sire, vo renommée." *Sone de Noissey*, 377 (young noble to count).—"Seigneur, or entendés, pour Dieu, escoutés la." *Brun de la Mont.*, 2353 (herald to nobles).—Other examples are found in *Romanzen*, 52, 20;—*Jehan et Blonde*, 737;—*Berte*, 2663, 2919;—*East. de Bouillon*, 4583;—*Fitz-Warren*, 15, 58;—*Brun de la Mont.*, 26;—*Sone de Noissey*, 3163;—*Robin et Marion*, 328;—*Pastorellen*, III, 33, 8;—*Maugis d'Aigremont*, 4477;—*Fabliaux*, I, 73, 302; II, 49, 116; V, 176.

³ See *supra*, p. 109.

⁴ See *supra*, p. 195.

negative, colorless title equivalent to 'monsieur.' This shift in meaning took place before the date of the earliest Old-French texts.

Of the total number of the examples of the word used in the works consulted for this study as a title in direct address for the nobility, *sire*, in the "transferred" meaning, 'my honored sir' or 'monsieur,' was used by equals, both nobles and priests, as a title for nobles of all ranks in the following per cent. of cases:

Early Period: 10%, from the West and Center.¹

Twelfth century: 10%, from all sections of the territory.²

First half of the thirteenth century: 15%, from the East, North, and Center.³

Second half of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries: 17%, from the West, North, and Center.⁴

¹ Respont Rollanz: "Sire, cist gentils moz." *Roland*, 1752 (Roland to Oliver).—"Seigneur de Rome, pour amour Deu, mercit." *Alewis*, 461 (noble to friends).—"Ferez, seignur, des espees furbies!" *Roland*, 1925 (noble to fellow nobles).—Dist Guillelmes d'Orange: "Seignurs, or gaberai." *Pelerinage de Charlemagne*, 507 (noble to fellow nobles).

² "Sire," fet il, "rehäitiez vus!" Marie de France, *Lanval*, 523 (noble to friend, a noble).—"Quel part s'an vont?" "Sire, par ci." *Erec*, 4370 (noble young girl to stranger, a noble).—"Signor," fait il, "or au Sole!" *Ille et Galeron*, 5840 (noble to fellow nobles, his friends).—"Seignor, ne vous corouciez pas!" *Fabliaux*, III, 24 (seneschal to nobles of court, in council assembled).—Other examples occur in the *Tristan de Thomas*, 2197;—*Thebes*, 1251;—Marie de France, *Laustic*, 83;—*Erec*, 1097, 3334;—*Aliscans*, 202;—*Ogier*, 2762;—*Renart*, V, 520.

³ "Sire," fait il, "li rois vos mande." *Bel Desconu*, 111 (noble to noble, his equal in rank).—"Sire, je n'ai pas tort." *Merlin*, 10 (noble woman to friend).—"Sire," dist l'enfes, "tot a vostre plaisir." *Huon de Bordeaux*, 621 (noble to brother).—Other examples occur in *Durmart le Gauois*, 1606, 5412, 5982;—*Chev. à l'Épée*, 134;—*Fabliaux*, IV, 63; VI, 77, 83;—*Raoul de Cambrai*, 4802;—*Huon de Bordeaux*, 346;—*Eustache le Moine*, 328.

⁴ "Sire, j'ai mansions diverses." *Rose*, 11718 (noble to noble, his friend).—"Sire," ce dist la belle, "se Dieu me faist aidance." *H. Capet*, 436 (noble girl to noble, a stranger).—"Sire, venez vous en un poy." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A, I, 332 (lady to noble, her friend).—Other examples occur in the *Fabliaux*, I, 33, 64; II, 90, 120; V, 176, 194;—*Romanzen*, 69, 13;—*Fitz-Warren*, 36, 61, 74;—*Bast. de Bouillon*, 956;—

c. *Sire* used by Superiors as a Title for Nobles.

In the Early Period, *sire*, meaning 'he who has authority,' or 'he who has authority over me,' was chiefly employed by nobles as a title for their kings or seigneurs.¹ Therefore, even though the word had come to be used among nobles as a negative title of honor, it would have been too incongruous for a seigneur, however much he might desire to honor or flatter one of his vassals, to address him as *sire* and, thereby, to place himself under that vassal's authority.

This incongruity, however, would have been greatly diminished if the seigneur, instead of addressing an individual vassal as *sire*, had addressed as *seigneur* a group of his nobles, because, in the latter case, he would extend the authority that he attributed to his hearers over so many persons that it would bring no one man into any particular prominence or into any direct contrast with his own power. Therefore, while, in the Early Period, there is not a single example of *sire* used by a king or seigneur as a title for any one of his noble followers, there are numerous examples of *seigneur* employed as a title for several of these vassals taken collectively.² By the second half of the thirteenth century, however, *sire* had become so colorless a title and had so completely lost its original meaning that it came to be universally employed by kings, feudal seigneurs, and other superiors as a title for an individual follower.

Of the total number of the examples of the word used in the works consulted for this study as a title for the nobility, *sire* in the "transferred" meaning, "*monsieur*," was used by over-

Floriant et Florette, 615;—*H. Capet*, 1963;—*Miracles de N. Dame*, B. XII, 594;—*Maugis d'Aigremont*, 4412.

¹ See *supra*, p. 191.

² Dist as paiens: "Seigneur, sachiez, par feid." *Roland*, 1482b (Saracen king to his nobles).—Ço dist li reis: "Seignur, vengiez voz doels." *Roland*, 3627 (Emperor Charles to his nobles).—"Seigneurs," dist l'emperere, "un petit m'entendez!" *Pelerinage de Charlemagne*, 67 (emperor to his noble vassals.)

lords as a title for their followers and by superiors as a title for inferiors in the following per cent. of cases:

Early Period; no examples.

Twelfth century: 4%, from all sections of the territory.¹

First half of the thirteenth century: 6%, from all sections of France.²

Second half of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries: 13%, from all sections of the territory.³

CONCLUSIONS AS TO THE USE OF *SIRE* AS A TITLE FOR THE NOBILITY.

1. In its "normal" meaning, *sire* originally signified 'he who has authority' or 'he who has authority over me,' and was used by persons of all classes and ranks as a title for kings, feudal seigneurs, husbands, lovers and fathers.

2. Before the date of the earliest Old-French texts, *sire*, because of the desire of the speaker to flatter the hearer, came to be used as a title for a noble who was not entitled, by virtue of actual authority over the speaker, or over some territorial division, to be designated as *sire*. By this misuse of the title, the speaker flattered the hearer by inferring that he was under the hearer's authority, or by insinuating that the hearer should

¹ "Ôil, seignor," dist li rois Arragons. *Prise d'Orange*, 529 (king to his nobles).—"Signor! tant voel et tant covoit!" *Ille et Galeron*, 5182 (emperor to his nobles).—"Seigneur," fet il, "isnelement!" *Erec*, 4750 (count to his noble followers).—Other examples occur in *Tristran de Beroul*, 627;—*Marie de France*, *Bisclavret*, 151;—*Erec*, 1780;—*Flore et Blanchefleur*, 2707;—*St. Thomas*, 911;—*Sept Sages*, 3286;—*Marie de France*, *Guigemar*, 838;—*Ogier*, 555.

² "Seignors," dit Alixandre, "mult sui en grant turmente." *Alexandre*, 230 (king to his nobles).—Other examples occur in the *Aimeri de Narbonne*, 791;—*Chev. au Cygne*, 6430;—*Chev. aux Deux Épées*, 4157;—*Fabliau*, VI, 84.

³ "Sire, se Dieux me benëie." *Floriant et Florette*, 624 (noble to his seneschal).—"Seignour," che dist li rois, "je sui bien durfëus." *Bast. de Bouillon*, 807 (king to nobles).—Other examples occur in the *Floriant et Florette*, 214, 1331;—*Rose*, 11453;—*H. Capet*, 766;—*Fabliau*, III, 248;—*Berte*, 2322.

be classed with those rulers of the country who were entitled to be designated as *sire*. In this misuse of the title, *sire* lost its original "normal" meaning, 'he who has authority,' or 'he who has authority over me,' and became a negative, colorless title, equivalent to 'my honored sir,' or '*monsieur*.'

3. In this "transferred" meaning, '*monsieur*,' *sire* came to be employed by equals, and even by superiors, as a title for nobles whom they desired to honor or flatter.

4. In the Early Period, *sire* was chiefly used in the "normal" meaning, and was only occasionally employed in the "transferred" signification. Examples of the word in both meanings are found in texts of this period from the West and Center.

5. In texts of the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from all sections of France, *sire* was employed in ever diminishing proportion by persons of all classes and ranks of society as a title for kings, feudal seigneurs, husbands, lovers and fathers. Moreover, as used as a title for these personages, *sire*, probably on account of the large increase in the employment of the word in the "transferred" meaning, soon became a negative, colorless title, and retained but a shade of its original "normal" meaning, 'he who has authority,' or 'he who has authority over me.'

6. In texts of the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from all sections of France, *sire* in the "transferred" meaning, '*monsieur*,' was used in ever increasing proportion by inferiors as a negative, colorless title for nobles.

7. In proportion as *sire* became more and more used in the "transferred" meaning it became less and less employed in the "normal" meaning. A shift in meaning consequently occurred, and *sire* shifted from signifying 'he who has authority,' or 'he who has authority over me,' to signifying 'my honored sir,' '*monsieur*.' In those cases where the word was still used as a title for kings, seigneurs, husbands, lovers and fathers, a shade of the original "normal" meaning probably still remained.

B. *Sire* used as a Title for the *Bourgeoisie*.

During the Middle Ages in France, society was composed of but two classes, the nobles and the serfs.¹ Because *sire* was originally the term chiefly employed to designate the men of the former of these two classes,² and because the social condition of the latter was extremely low, it was far too incongruous that a *vilain* should have addressed as *sire* one of his fellows, or even that a woman of the lower class should have thus addressed her husband. The growth in power and importance of the *bourgeoisie* in the twelfth century, by which they raised themselves to a social position more nearly approaching that of the nobility, wrought a complete change, and, in the texts of the second half of the twelfth century, there are examples where *sire*, which had gradually become a negative, colorless title for any noble, was employed by bourgeois women in the meaning, 'he who has authority over me,' as a title for their husbands, and by servants and inferiors as a title for their bourgeois superiors.³

The use of *sire* as a title for the *bourgeoisie* is interesting as showing the stages through which *sire*, when employed as a title for the nobility, probably passed in shifting from meaning 'he who has authority' or 'he who has authority over me' to meaning '*monsieur*,' stages through which *sire*, as used as a title for the nobility, had passed before the time of the earliest works in the French language.⁴ The first step in this development, where the word in the meaning 'he who has authority over me' came to be employed by servants, dependents and other inferiors, as a title for their bourgeois superiors, took place in the second half of the twelfth century.³ The second step, where the word came to be used by bourgeois as a title for their fellows of equal rank, was reached during the next fifty years.³ The final step, where the word was employed by superiors as a title for their bourgeois inferiors, only oc-

¹ See *supra*, p. 79.² See *supra*, p. 191.³ See *infra*, p. 204, notes 2 and 3.⁴ See *supra*, p. 195.

curred in the second half of the thirteenth century.¹ These examples are found in texts from all sections of France.

In works of the second half of the twelfth, the thirteenth, and the first half of the fourteenth centuries, from all sections of the territory, *sire* was employed by bourgeois women as a title for their husbands and lovers.²

In works of the second half of the twelfth, the thirteenth, and the first half of the fourteenth centuries, from all sections of the territory, *sire* was used by servants, dependents and other inferiors, as a title for bourgeois superiors.³

In texts of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries, from all sections of France, *sire* was used by bourgeois and priests as a title for their friends and equals.⁴

¹ See examples quoted under use of word as title in direct address; *infra*, p. 204, note 4.

² "Sire," fet ele, "se vus plest." Marie de France, *Fables*, XLV, 14 (wife to *vilain*).—"Sire," fait ele, "avez vëu?" *Flore et Blanchefleur*, 1183 (*bourgeoise* to husband).—"Sire," fet ele, "mout m'est bel." *Fabliaux*, I, 120 (bourgeois woman to lover).—Other examples occur in the *Pastorellen*, III, 3, 29;—*Fabliaux*, I, 234, 259, 310; III, 47, 69, 89; IV, 99, 118, 135, 159; V, 17, 136, 195; VI, 2;—*Pastorellen*, III, 49, 17;—*Conte de Folle Largesse*, 193;—*Berte*, 1226.

³ "Sire, n'ai soing de vostre avoir." *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, 730 (beggar to merchant).—"Sire," dist il, "naie, par foi." *Flore et Blanchefleur*, 220 (inferior to bourgeois).—"Sire," fet dunc li juvencel. *Petit Plet*, 133 (boy to bourgeois).—"Sire," fait il, "por le renon." *Gautier de Coincy*, 525 (servant to bourgeois).—"Sire, Raoules se combat." *Jus de St. Nicolas*, 623 (servant to innkeeper).—"Sire," font il, "lessiez ester." *Fabliaux*, I, 265 (ox driver to bourgeois master).—"Sire," dist il, "or entendés!" *Fabliaux*, II, 33 (miller's apprentice to miller).—"Seignor, pour Dieu l'espiritual." *Garçon et Aveugle*, 69 (beggar boy to passers by). Other examples occur in *Escoufle*, 6324;—*Fabliaux*, IV, 142; V, 236, 240; VI, 19, 135;—*Guillaume d'Angleterre*, 579, 2104.

⁴ "Sire, quar les nous moustrez donc?" *Fabliaux*, IV, 96 (bourgeois to brother).—"Sire," dist el, "je sui venue." *Fabliaux*, I, 173 (bourgeois woman to neighbor).—"Merci, sire, je sui toz sains." *Fabliaux*, III, 167 (bourgeois to doctor).—"Pour Diu, seignour, se jou remaing." *Escoufle*, 6999 (falconer to his companions).—"Seignor, ne seroit il bons lere." *Fabliaux*, IV, 94 (bourgeois to his friend).—"Seignor, par cel Dieu qui me fist." *Fabliaux*, III, 167 (doctor to bourgeois).—"Seignor," font il, "montons la sus!" *Fabliaux*, I, 277 (ox drivers to fellows).—"Seignor,"

In texts of the second half of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries from the West and Center, *sire* was employed by nobles and bourgeois as a title for their bourgeois inferiors.¹

C. *Sire* used as a Title for the Clergy.

It has been said ² that the position of the clergy in the society of the Middle Ages was similar to that of the nobility. *Sire* was consequently employed as a title for the clergy in the same way that it was used as a title for the nobility. In the "normal" meaning, 'he who has authority' or 'he who has authority over me,' *sire* was used by members of the priesthood as a title for their superiors in the ecclesiastical hierarchy.³ In the "transferred" meaning, 'my honored sir,' '*monsieur*,' *sire* was employed by nobles, bourgeois and priests of all ranks, as a title of respect and honor for priests of all grades.⁴ These examples are of all periods and from all sections of France.

fait il, "qui preste ocit." *Fabliaux*, V, 167 (priest to bourgeois).—"Sire, puis que tant en savés." *Jus d'Adam*, 275 (bourgeois woman to doctor).—"Sire, a vostre oes le poez pendre." *Fabliaux*, V, 131 (bourgeois to landlord of inn).—"Je l'aim, sire, d'amour si vrai." *Robin et Marion*, 592 (peasant to companion).—"Signeur," ce dist Huon, "C mercis vous en rendi." *H. Capet*, 870 (bourgeois to fellow bourgeois in Parliament).—Other examples occur in the *Fabliaux*, I, 73, 102, 290; II, 179; III, 96, 99, 190, 228, 232; IV, 98, 170, 200; V, 41, 56, 87, 217, 234;—*Jus d'Adam*, 902;—*Rustebeuf*, II, 219;—*Robin et Marion*, 499.

¹ "Sire," fet il, "savez a vendre?" *Fabliaux*, III, 92 (noble to inn-keeper).—"Non, seigneur, non, sire, par foi." *Fabliaux*, I, 87 (noble to bourgeois, whom he desires to flatter).

² See *supra*, p. 35.

³ "Sire, vëez la ci, bien la devës òir!" *St. Thomas*, 2292 (archbishop to Pope).—"Sire," dist il, "je sui venus." *Eustache le Moine*, 241 (monk to abbot).—"Sire," dist il, "par Nostre Dame." *Eustache le Moine*, 1267 (servant to monk).—"Par foi, Sire, je le vueil bien." *Miracle de St. Theophile*, 356 (vice-dominus of church to bishop).—"Vous dites moult bonnes raisons, sire." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A, III, 326 (clerc to *chanoine*).—"Sire, Dieu vous doint bonne vie." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A, II, 574 (nun to bishop).—Other examples occur in the *St. Thomas*, 666;—*Fabliaux*, II, 15; III, 219, 240, 244; IV, 34, 55; V, 147; VI, 92;—*Miracles de N. Dame*, A, III, 84.

⁴ "Sire, a pied estes et jo sui a cheval." *Roland*, 2138 (Roland to Arch-

SECTION II.

SIRE USED AS A HANDLE OF HONOR.

Sire in its "normal" and "transferred" meanings was frequently added in Old French as a handle of honor to the names and titles of those men who, by right of rank or by the flattery of the speaker,¹ were addressed as *sire*.

a. SIRE ADDED AS A HANDLE OF HONOR TO THE NAMES OF PERSONS.

In texts of all periods and from all sections of France, *sire* was added by persons of all classes and ranks of society as a handle of honor to the names of kings, feudal overlords, husbands and lovers;² also, by nobles of all ranks and by bourgeois

bishop Turpin).—*Tristran* li dit: "Sire, par foi." *Tristran de Beroul*, 1381 (noble to hermit).—"Sire," fet il, "li reis vus a par nus mandé." *St. Thomas*, 1833 (count to archbishop).—Et dist: "Sire, ie vous rekier." *Chev. au Deus Espées*, 3736 (noble to hermit).—"Sire, tant l'aim, ce est la voire." *Gautier de Coincy*, 534 (noble to abbot).—"Sire, li maus l'a rengrami." *Jus d'Adam*, 384 (bourgeois to priest).—"Sire, bon jour puissiez avoir." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. II, 12 (priest to priest).—Other examples occur in the *Renart*, XV, 432;—*St. Thomas*, 561, 919, 1568;—*Naiss. de Chev. au Cygne*, 1463;—*Fabliaux*, I, 170, 182, 257; III, 55, 108, 184; IV, 90, 174; V, 116, 149; VI, 48, 93;—*Escoufle*, 2122;—*Huon de Bordeaux*, 629.

¹ See use of *sire*. Also, see discussion of *danz*, used as a handle of honor to names or titles. The reasons for adopting the expression, "handle of honor," to designate *sire* added to other names or titles have been given in the chapter on *danz*. See *supra*, p. 107, note 2.

² "Sire Alexis, tanz jorz t'ai desidret." *Alexis*, 471 (noble woman to husband).—"Sire Guillames," dist Guibors la gentis. *Aliscans*, 1902 (wife to count).—"Baron, sire Butor, et qu'alez vos pensant?" *Brun de la Mont.*, 506 (wife to noble). Further examples occur in *Roland*, 3497;—*Charroi de Nimes*, 134, 949;—*Coronnement Louis*, 1562;—*Tristran de Beroul*, 5; *Marie de France*, *Guigemar*, 668;—*Thebes*, 6313;—*Aliscans*, 5312;—*Renart*, IX, 1648;—*Ogier*, 4506;—*Raoul de Cambrai*, 1675, 5680;—*Huon de Bordeaux*, 477;—*Fabliaux*, IV, 102;—*Amis et Amiles*, 3228;—*Romansen*, 2, 39;—*Brun de la Mont.*, 2126.

as a handle to the names of noble superiors,¹ and by nobles as a handle to the names of their noble equals² and inferiors.³ It is to be noted that, in the works consulted for this study, there is not an example of *sire* added as a handle to the names of priests or bourgeois.

b. *SIRE* ADDED AS A HANDLE OF HONOR TO THE
TERRITORIAL TITLES OF PERSONS.

Sire was probably added as a handle of honor to most Old-French territorial titles. In the majority of cases, the addition of *sire* was merely sporadic. In many cases, however, *sire* was so frequently joined to the same title that the resultant combination became a fixed locution. Of these fixed locutions are the following, arranged in the order of rank of the person addressed.

Sire Rois.

In texts of all periods from all sections of the territory, *sire rois* was employed by persons of all classes and ranks in society as a title for the king.⁴

¹ "Sire Acelin, nobile poigneur." *Coronnement Louis*, 1791 (noble to noble of higher rank).—"Sire Lanval, ma dameisele." *Marie de France*, *Lanval*, 71 (lady in waiting to noble).—"Sire Guillaumes, gentix, nobles, et ber." *Aliscans*, 2513 (bourgeois to noble).—Et dit: "Sire Butor, tant avés le cucu fin." *Brun de la Mont.*, 2678 (noble to noble of higher rank).

² "Sire Rollanz, ore sonez le corn!" *Roland*, 1752b (Oliver to Roland).—"Sire Bertran," che li a dit Ogier. *Ogier*, 4392 (noble to noble).—Further examples occur in *Roland*, 1740;—*Pelerinage de Charlemagne*, 484;—*Charroi de Nimes*, 660;—*Tristran de Thomas*, 2227;—*Thebes*, 8393;—*Aliscans*, 129;—*Fierebras*, 1688;—*Renart*, I, 137, XXII, 307;—*Raoul de Cambrai*, 3587;—*Escoufle*, 325;—*Fitz-Warren*, 38;—*Joinville*, 208;—*Bast. de Bouillon*, 6472;—*Miraoles de N. Dame*, B. XII, 151.

³ "E dist li emperere: "Sire Bernarz, gabez." *Pelerinage de Charlemagne*, 553 (emperor to noble of high rank).—Further examples occur in *Charroi de Nimes*, 73;—*Troie*, 3257;—*Aliscans*, 762;—*Renart*, XXIII, 1649;—*Ogier*, 4767;—*Alexandre*, 230;—*Huon de Bordeaux*, 1362;—*Floriant et Florette*, 4838;—*Joinville*, 92.

⁴ "Salvez seiez, sire reis, de Mahun." *Roland*, 416 (noble to king).—"Sire reis," fet il, "bien devum doluser." *St. Thomas*, 4960 (bishop to king).—"A vous vieng, sire rois, que droiture me faites." *Elie de St.*

Sire Amiraals.
Sire Emperere.

In works of all periods from the West, North and Center, *sire amiraals* and *sire emperere* were employed by nobles as a title for emperors.¹

Sire Dus.
Sire Cuens.

In texts later than the first half of the twelfth century from all sections of the territory, *sire dus* and *sire cuens* were employed by persons of all classes and ranks of society as a title for dukes² and counts.³

C. *SIRE* ADDED AS A HANDLE OF HONOR TO CLERICAL
TITLES.

Sire Apostoile.

Sire apostoile is used as a title in direct address in the *Coronnement Louis*⁴ only.

Gille, 1878 (merchant to king).—Other examples occur in *Roland*, 2831;—*Tristan de Thomas*, 1731;—*Aucassin et Nicolette*, 33, 1;—*Flore et Blanchefleur*, 1155;—*Renart*, XXIII, 799;—*Sept Sages*, 318;—*Durmart le Gaulois*, 1309;—*Chev. aux Deux Épées*, 428;—*Huon de Bordeaux*, 1351;—*Meraugis de Portlesguez*, 5102;—*Escoufle*, 662;—*Sone de Noissey*, 4555;—*Berte*, 2268;—*Fitz-Warren*, 53;—*Bast. de Bouillon*, 4073;—*Maugis d'Aigremont*, 4524.

¹“*Sire emperere*,” co dist Gefreiz d’Anjou. *Roland*, 2945 (noble to emperor).—“*Amirauz sire, fetes pes, si ÷iez*.” *Prise d’Orange*, 1470 (noble to king of Saracens).—Other examples occur in *Fierebras*, 2843;—*Elie de St. Gille*, 2280;—*Ogier*, 118;—*Raoul de Cambrai*, 6729;—*Maugis d’Aigremont*, 4509.

²“*Sire dus*,” dist li rois, “ne me soit pas celé.” *Fierebras*, 113 (king to Duke of Normandy).—Other examples occur in *Aimeri de Narbonne*, 424;—*Chev. au Cygne*, 3280;—*Bast. de Bouillon*, 5819;—*H. Capet*, 692.

³“*Sire quens*,” fet li reis, “bien sai por verité.” *St. Thomas*, 2166 (king to count).—Other examples occur in *Aucassin et Nicolette*, 4, 4;—*Fierebras*, 1586;—*Huon de Bordeaux*, 1402;—*Eustache le Moine*, 1697;—*Fabliaux*, III, 206; VI, 99, 104.

⁴“*Sire Apostoile*,” dit Guillaume li sages. *Coronnement Louis*, 416 (count to Pope).

Sire Esvesques.

Sire esvesques is used as a title in direct address in texts of all periods and from all sections of France.¹

Sire Abes.

Sire abes is used as a title in the *Huon de Bordeaux* only.²

Sire Prestre.

In works of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries from the North and Center, *sire prestre* is employed as a title in direct address.³

Sire Clers.

Sire Curés.

Sire Moines.

In texts of the thirteenth century from all sections of the territory except the West, *sire clers*, *sire curés*, and *sire moines* are employed as titles in direct address.⁴

¹ "E vus, sire arcesveskes, gaberez vus od nus?" *Pelerinage de Charlemagne*, 493 (noble to archbishop).—Further examples occur in *St. Thomas*, 1663, 4346;—*Fabliaux*, IV, 34;—*Joinville*, 372;—*Amis et Amiles*, 2119;—*Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VI, 1210.

² "M'ederés vous, sire abes de Cluigny?" *Huon de Bordeaux*, 791 (man to abbot).

³ "Sire prestre," fait il, "je les." *Gautier de Coincy*, 431 (bourgeois to priest).—Further examples occur in *Fabliaux*, I, 139, 215;—*Fabliaux*, II, 238;—*Fabliaux*, VI, 68;—*Rose*, 15065.

⁴ "Par Dieu," font il, "sire cleregaut." *Fabliaux*, I, 123.—Further examples occur in *Fabliaux*, V, 85, 195;—*Joinville*, 66;—*Jus d'Adam*, 557;—*Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VI, 135.

d. *SIRE* ADDED AS A HANDLE OF HONOR TO MISCELLANEOUS OLD-FRENCH TITLES.

Seigneur Baron.

In texts of all periods and from all sections of the territory, *seigneur baron* was employed by persons of all classes and ranks of society as a title for nobles of high rank.¹

Sire Chevaliers.

In texts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries from all sections of the territory, *sire chevaliers*² was used by persons of all classes and ranks as a title for nobles of all ranks.³

Sire Compainz.

In works of all periods from the West, North, and Center, *sire compainz*⁴ was used by nobles as a title for their *compagnons* and for their intimate friends.⁵

¹ "Seigneur baron, alez le pas tenant." *Roland*, 1165 (noble to fellow nobles).—"Que faites vos, seigneur baron?" *Thebes*, 10101 (duke to noble followers).—"Signor baron," che dist li roi. *Sept Sages*, 942 (king to noble followers).—"Singnor baron," dient li pïasant. *Raoul de Cambrai*, 8394 (peasant to nobles).—Et dist: "Seigneur baron, par les sains de lassus." *Bast. de Bouillon*, 3568 (king to noble followers).—Other examples occur in *Coronnement Louis*, 2399;—*Flore et Blanchefleur*, 978;—*Fierebras*, 4449;—*Elie de St. Gille*, 13;—*Renart*, XXIII, 1;—*Aimeri de Narbonne*, 2626;—*Jus de St. Nicolas*, 453;—*Amis et Amiles*, 3346;—*Gargon et Aveugle*, 1;—*Floriant et Florette*, 4588;—*H. Capet*, 852;—*Maugis d' Aigremont*, 3173. See chapter on *ber*. There are no examples of *sire ber* in the texts consulted for this study.

² See chapter on *chevaliers*.

³ "Sire chevaliers, sanz celer." *Chev. aux Deux Epées* (queen to noble).—"Sire chevalier, molt estes fol." *Fitz-Warren*, 53 (noble lady to noble).—Other examples occur in *Durmart le Gaulois*, 3498;—*Escoufle*, 749;—*Fabliaux*, VI, 75;—*Joinville*, p. 53;—*Brun de la Mont.*, 2620.

⁴ See chapter on *compainz*.

⁵ "Sire cumpaing, amis, nel dire ja." *Roland*, 1113 (noble to *compagnon*).—"Hai! sire compainz, bien nous est encontré." *Elie de St. Gille*,

*Sire Prozdom.**Sire Serganz.*

In texts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries from the North and Center, *sire prozdom*¹ was employed by nobles and bourgeois as a title for bourgeois whom it was desired to honor.² During the same centuries and in the same territory, *sire serganz*³ was used by nobles and bourgeois as a title for soldiers.⁴

e. SPORADIC CASES OF *SIRE* ADDED AS A HANDLE OF
HONOR TO TITLES.

In the following cases, *sire* does not seem to have been added as a handle to the title in question frequently enough to have produced a fixed locution.

Sire Pere.

"Sire pere qui nos fâis." *Adamspiel*, 241 (man to God).—"Sire Pere," fet il, "et vus, ke m'en dire?" *St. Thomas*, 1474 (archbishop to bishop).

Sire Compere.

"Sire compere, ouvrez moi l'uis!" *Renart*, III, 216 (noble to noble).

Sire Oncles.

Qui li demande: "Sire oncle, dont venez?" *Charroi de Nimes*, 417 (noble to uncle).

2558 (noble to intimate friend).—Other examples occur in *Marie de France*, *Lanval*, 805;—*Fierebras*, 1688;—*Renart*, I, 1650;—*Amis et Amiles*, 519;—*Meraugis de Portlesgues*, 535.

¹ See chapter on *prozdom*.

² L'enfant respunt: "Sire prudom." *Petit Plet*, 1625 (young man to old bourgeois). Si dist: "Sire preudom, mais hui." *Chev. au Deuø Epées*, 6510 (noble to old bourgeois).—Other examples occur in *Naiss. du Chev. au Cygne*, 1954;—*Fabliaux*, I, 290; V. 59;—*Miracles de N. Dame*, A. III, 916, 1236.

³ See chapter on *serganz*.

⁴ "Signor sergant, or i parra." *Eustache le Moine*, 1636 (noble to soldiers).—"Signor sergent, et de ceste uevre." *Fabliaux*, IV, 21 (inn-keeper to soldiers).—"Je vous conmant, seigneurs sergent." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VIII, 109 (Pope to his soldiers).

Sire Parastre.

"Sire parastre, mult vos dei aveir chier." *Roland*, 753 (noble to his father-in-law).

Sire Fils.

"Sire fix Fierebras, ou estes vous alés?" *Fierebras*, 1889 (king to son.)

Sire Niés.

Si li demande: "Sire niés, dont venez?" *Charroi de Nîmes*, 32 (count to nephew).

Sire Cousins.

Dist Vivien: "Bertrans, sire cousin." *Aliscans*, 323 (noble to his cousin).

Sire Amis.

"Sire amis," fet li roy, "conussez vus?" *Fitz-Warren*, 81 (king to noble).

Sire Palmiers.

"En moie foit," dist il, "sire palmier." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 7459 (noble to pilgrim).

Sire Croisiez.

"Sire croisiez, merveillés voi." *Rustebuef*, I, 156 (noble to crusader).

Sire Viellarz.

"Et vous, sire viellart, nel celez tant ne quant." *Maugis d'Aigremont*, 2060 (king to wise man).

SECTION III.

BEAUS SIRE.

Numerous examples of *beaus sire* in the *Alexis* and in the *Roland*¹ show that the compound was much used as a title in the Early Period. Like other compounds of *beaus*,² *beaus sire*, before this period, had lost entirely the idea, 'handsome,' and had become equivalent to *sire*. In texts of all periods and from all sections of France, *beaus sire* in the "normal" meaning, 'he who has authority' or 'he who has authority over me,'³ was

¹ See examples of *beaus sire* employed as a title in direct address.

² See *supra*, p. 37, note 1.

³ Like *sire*, *beaus sire* in its "normal" meaning was influenced by the "transferred" meaning and probably soon became a negative, colorless title of honor, with only a shade of the original signification.

employed by persons of all classes and ranks of society as a title for kings,¹ feudal and ecclesiastical seigneurs,² husbands, lovers,³ and fathers.⁴

In works of all periods and from all sections of the territory, *beaus sire* in the "transferred" meaning, '*monsieur*,' was used as a title for nobles and priests who were the superiors,⁵ equals,⁶

¹"Tenez, bels sire," dist Rollanz a sun uncle. *Roland*, 387 (noble to emperor).—"Cuidai, beau sire, qu'el quëist amistiez." *Charroi de Nîmes*, 562 (noble to king).—Et dist: "Biaus sire, je n'ai mie." *Erec*, 4238 (noble to king).—"Biax sire, encor orrés vos el." *Ille et Galeron*, 3609 (seneschal to Pope).—Further examples occur in *Grant mal fist Adam*, 116;—*Tristran de Beroul*, 2571;—*Guillaume d'Angleterre*, 1933;—*Flore et Blanchefleur*, 971;—*Fierebras*, 5159;—*Renart*, XXIII, 1521;—*Ogier*, 1175;—*Aimeri de Narbonne*, 957, 2406;—*Raoul de Cambrai*, 6723, 6913;—*Chev. aux Deux Épées*, 1263;—*Durmart le Gaulois*, 9616;—*Escoufle*, 362, 1714;—*Amis et Amiles*, 1786;—*Floriant et Florette*, 1195, 1965;—*Bast. de Bouillon*, 922;—*Maugis d'Aigremont*, 2980;—*Miracles de N. Dame*, A. IV, 1251.

²"Par foi, beau sire, jamai le mescrerez." *Charroi de Nîmes*, 1287 (noble to feudal overlord).—"Biaus sire, pues que tu ies morz?" *Thebes*, 6315 (esquire to his overlord).—"Biax sire, cor me prestiasiez!" *Ille et Galeron*, 2077 (*serjant* to overlord).—"A Deu, A Deu!" font il, "biau sire." *Escoufle*, 326 (followers to count).—Further examples occur in *Prise d'Orange*, 1196;—*Coronnement Louis*, 1637;—*Tristran de Beroul*, 3361;—*Renart*, XIII, 224;—*Aliscans*, 1733;—*Ogier*, 1104, 3735;—*Aimeri de Narbonne*, 1337;—*Raoul de Cambrai*, 1666, 6347;—*Chev. au Cygne*, 5896, 6702;—*Durmart le Gaulois*, 2752, 5678, 10577;—*Fabliaux*, I, 48; II, 67, 81; VI, 70, 76;—*Floriant et Florette*, 1100, 2101;—*Maugis d'Aigremont*, 1899;—*H. Capet*, 1555.

³"Amis, bels sire, si pou vos ai ùt!" *Alexis*, 109 (wife of Alexis to her husband).—"Por quoi? Biaus sire, et vos por quoi?" *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, 223 (wife to king).—"Ates, beaus sire, tu ne m'oz?" *Thebes*, 6381 (noble girl to lover).—Further examples occur in *Tristran de Beroul*, 2711;—*Guillaume d'Angleterre*, 1134;—*Ille et Galeron*, 4188;—*Aliscans*, 1715;—*Pastorellen*, III, 11, 5;—*Raoul de Cambrai*, 7511;—*Chev. au Cygne*, 6796;—*Escoufle*, 4727;—*Meraugis de Portlesgues*, 2898;—*Berte*, 2335;—*Fabliaux*, I, 229; III, 269; VI, 112;—*Brun de la Mont.*, 3919;—*Maugis d'Aigremont*, 3238;—*Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VI, 482; A. VII, 159. .

⁴Dist la pucelle: "Or me dites, biax sire." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 5583 (daughter to noble).

⁵"Eufermiens, bels sire, riches hom." *Alexis*, 216 (poor man to noble).—"Que moult redoutent Loois ne la paigne." *Prise d'Orange*, 199 (noble to noble of higher rank).—Tels me soloit dire, "Biaus sire," Qui mé dit "Traîtres atains." *Pierre de la Broche*, 19 (a barber becomes a king's

and even the inferiors¹ of the speaker. Also, in texts of the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from all sections of France, *beaus sire* was used by servants,² friends³ and even nobles⁴ as a title for bourgeois, and by women of the *bourgeoisie* as a title for their lovers and husbands.⁵

favorite, but soon falls into disgrace; before his downfall, he says that the people used to call him "*biaus sire*" while now they call him "*traîtres atains*").—Further examples occur in *Erec*, 4338;—*Fierebras*, 4779, 5460;—*Petit Plet*, 277;—*Raoul de Cambrai*, 5689, 7279;—*Durmart le Gaulois*, 2752;—*Rose*, 2910;—*Coronnement Louis*, 1450;—*Ille et Galeron*, 5588;—*Aliscans*, 12158;—*Renart*, IX, 2048;—*Chev. au Cygne*, 2927;—*Chev. aux Deus Épées*, 3354, 3590;—*Comtesse de Ponthieu* (O. F. N.), 170;—*Fabliaux*, II, 121; III, 226.

* "Par amistiez, bels sire, la vuz duins." *Roland*, 622 (noble to noble, his equal).—L'enfes respont: "Beau sire, volantiers." *Coronnement Louis*, 1717 (noble to priest).—"Que reveigniez par si, biau sire." *Gautier de Coincy*, 652 (nun to monk).—"Biaus sire, de ce que j'avoie." *Miracle de St. Theophile*, 334 (bishop to vicedominus of church).—"Biaus sire, que Dieus vous ait!" *Fabliaux*, III, 229 (bourgeois to priest).—Further examples occur in *Thebes*, 4704;—*Erec*, 1322;—*Ille et Galeron*, 6074;—*Fierebras*, 2830, 4976;—*Ogier*, 490, 1785;—*Villeharduin*, 90, 142;—*Durmart le Gaulois*, 2752;—*Escoufle*, 336;—*Amis et Amiles*, 979;—*Bast. de Bouillon*, 6264;—*Miracles de N. Dame*, B. XII, 1394;—*Brun de la Mont.*, 859;—*Guillaume d'Angleterre*, 165;—*Fabliaux*, I, 133, 180;—*Raoul de Cambrai*, 7319;—*Nais. du Chev. au Cygne*, 426;—*Gautier de Coincy*, 530;—*Chev. aux Deus Épées*, 344;—*Eustache le Moine*, 183;—*Fabliaux*, III, 179, 241, 270;—*Fabliaux*, V, 219;—*Fabliaux*, VI, 93.

¹ E dit lui: "Bels sire, ore estez." *Tristran de Beroul*, 2283 (noble to noble of inferior rank).—"Bel seignor, a Renart vos les." *Renart*, XI, 1977 (king to his nobles).—Further examples occur in *Charroi de Nîmes*, 674;—*Aliscans*, 7397;—*Aimeri de Narbonne*, 1057, 3014;—*Durmart le Gaulois*, 9610;—*Escoufle*, 350;—*Sone de Noissey*, 3368;—*Florian et Florette*, 1585, 3310;—*Rose*, 15741;—*Brun de la Mont.*, 3601.

² "Por Diu, biau sire, passés nos." *Eustache le Moine*, 2190 (jongleur to merchant).—"Nous ferons chou ke vous vaurés." *Fabliaux*, IV, 25 (villain to innkeeper).—Further examples occur in *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, 2491;—*Fabliaux*, II, 41; IV, 177; V, 27.

³ Ôil, bel sire, n'en dotez mie." *Resurrection du Sauveur*, 94 (soldier to soldier).—A mon mari direz: "Biaus sire." *Fabliaux*, I, 176 (bourgeois to bourgeois).—Further examples occur in *Fabliaux*, I, 108, 207;—*Fabliaux*, V, 21;—*Jus d'Adam*, 36;—*Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VIII, 24.

⁴ "Biau sire, de verté le saciés." *Flore et Blanchefleur*, 1760 (prince to boatman).—"Bel sire," fet le roy, "bien viegne." *Fitz-Warren*, 76 (king to jongleur).—Further examples occur in *Fabliaux*, I, 87 and II, 49;—*Fitz-Warren*, 82;—*H. Capet*, 1257.

⁵ "Que veez vus, beals sire, amis?" *Marie de France, Fables*, XLIV, 7

Also, like *sire*, *beaus sire* came to be less and less used in its "normal" meaning as it came to be more and more employed in its "transferred" meaning and shifted from signifying 'he who has authority' or 'he who has authority over me' to meaning '*monsieur*.' This shift in meaning seems to have taken place in the case of *beaus sire* earlier than in the case of *sire*.¹ *Beaus sire* was employed by kings and superiors as a title for nobles of inferior rank in the first half, and as a title for bourgeois in the second half of the twelfth century. *Sire* is not found in these uses until the second half of the thirteenth century.

Besides shifting earlier than did *sire*, *beaus sire* at times seems to have taken on decidedly pejorative by-notions and to have possessed a distinctly sarcastic shading.² Moreover, in certain sections of France, *beaus sire* was considered as almost an insult, being equivalent in meaning to 'cuckold.'³ The use of *beaus sire* in the North and in England as a term for the penis may have contributed to lend this pejorative coloring to the word.

Beaus sire was also added as a handle of honor to the names and titles of those men to whom *beaus sire* was employed as a title in direct address. These examples are contained in texts of the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from all sections of France.⁴

(wife to bourgeois).—"Vos donrai je conseil, baus sire." *Renart*, IX, 991 (wife to peasant).—Further examples occur in *Gautier de Coincy*, 431;—*Fabliaux*, I, 203, 252; II, 159; IV, 163; V, 129, 135, 217.

¹ This may have been due to *beaus* which, in many cases, carried with it a certain shade of condescension, or at least of intimacy, and at times, seems to have taken on a slightly pejorative coloring.

² "Beau sire, molt fustes fols." *Fitz-Warren*, 54 (noble to noble with whom he is angry).—Lors li a dit: "Biaus sire, laissiés vo ramprosnier." *Bast. de Bouillon*, 1629 (noble to noble with whom he is angry).

³ Le suppliant dist a icellui Martin par douceur: "Beau sire, vous avés tort de prandre noise pour autrui." . . . Alors ledit Martin respondit: . . . qu'il n'estoit sire et qu'il ne savoit se ledit suppliant l'estoit: laquelle parole de sire lui fut a moult grant desplaissance . . . pour ce que en ladite ville (Ham) qui appelle ung "Beau sire" est autant comme de l'appeler "coulx." *Litt. remiss. ann.* 1388, in *Reg.* 143, ch. 143 (D. C.).

⁴ "Bels sire reis, Guenes ad fait folie." *Roland*, 496 (noble to king).—

SECTION IV.

DOUZ SIRE.

In texts of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries, *douz sire* in the "normal" meaning,¹ 'he who has authority' or 'he who has authority over me,' was used by ladies as a title for their husbands and lovers: in the "transferred" meaning, '*monsieur*,' by nobles and priests as a title for their fellow nobles and priests of equal rank, and by bourgeois women as a title for priests.²

SECTION V.

BEAUS DOUZ SIRE.

In the texts consulted for this study, *beaus douz sire* first occurs in those of the twelfth century. Like *beaus sire*,³ *beaus*

"Bels sire Guenes," dist Marsille li reis. *Roland*, 563 (king to noble).—
 "Bels sire niés, or sachiés veirement." *Roland*, 784 (king to nephew).—
 Pues si li dist: "Beaus sire frere." *Thebes*, 9635 (sister to noble).—
 "Biaus sire frere, par foi le vos afl." *Aimeri de Narbonne*, 2483 (sister to king).—"Biaus sire fleuls, occire voz voil ja." *Amis et Amiles*, 2995 (count to son).—Further examples occur in *Aimeri de Narbonne*, 679, 2339; *Marie de France*, *Fables*, LXVIII, 31;—*Thebes*, 9454;—*Guillaume d'Angleterre*, 1920;—*Ogier*, 3383;—*Raoul de Cambrai*, 4656, 5787, 6165;—*Amis et Amiles*, 2992, 3273;—*Alexandre*, 230;—*Escoufle*, 3403.

¹ *Douz sire*, like *beaus sire*, at once lost its meaning, 'gentle.' See *supra*, p. 45.

² "Ha, dous sire, je ne quidasse." *Chev. aux Deux Épées*, 5116 (noble to noble).—"Mes dous sires, mes dos amis." *Fabliaux*, IV, 6 (bourgeois woman to priest lover).—Li a dit: "Sire dous, vès la tour ferree." *Brun de la Mont.*, 3518 (noble to noble friend).—"Doulx sire, se conte de foiz." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VII, 490 (nun to noble lover).—"Que vous fis pieça, sire doulz." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VII, 909 (noble woman to husband).—"Je m'y accors bien, sire doulz." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. III, 520 (priest to noble).—"Crestiennex tost, sire doulz." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VI, 893 (king to monk).—"Ainsi le croy je, sire doulx." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VI, 1514 (bourgeois woman to bishop).

³ See *supra*, p. 47, note 4.

douz sire early lost its ideas, 'handsome' and 'gentle,' and became equivalent to *sire*. In works of the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from all sections of France, *beaus douz sire* in the "normal" meaning, 'he who has authority' or 'he who has authority over me,' was employed by persons of all classes and ranks of society as a title for kings,¹ feudal and ecclesiastical seigneurs,² husbands, lovers, and fathers.³

In works of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries from all sections of France, *beaus douz sire* in its "transferred" meaning, '*monsieur*,' was used as a title for nobles and priests who were the superiors,⁴ equals,⁵ and even inferiors,⁶ of the speaker.

¹ "Beau tres dolz sire Tiacre, voirement." *Charroi de Nimes*, 1121 (merchant to king).—Further examples occur in *Fierebras*, 4066;—*Renart*, XIII, 2026;—*Chev. au Cygne*, 6849;—*Chev. aux Deux Épées*, 1244;—*Escoufle*, 1616;—*Amis et Amiles*, 1781;—*Fabliaux*, II, 247 and V, 99;—*Floriant et Florette*, 4830.

² "Elyes, biaux dous sire, mout devés dolans estre." *Elie de St. Gilles*, 2339 (esquire to noble).—"Car vos levez hui mais, biaux tres doz sire." *Amis et Amiles*, 2415 (servant to noble).

³ "Baus dous sire, sans contredit." *Chev. aux Deux Épées*, 5138 (girl to her father, a noble).—"Baus sire douz, tu me diseies." *Thebes*, 6417 (noble girl to lover).—"Ha Deus," fet ele, "biaus douz sire." *Erec*, 4616 (wife to noble).—Further examples occur in *Ille et Galeron*, 4888;—*Renart*, II, 177;—*Fabliaux*, I, 98, 228; IV, 6, 80; V, 220;—*Rustebeuf*, II, 123;—*Rose*, 17369;—*Pastorellen*, II, 97, 16;—*Bast. de Bouillon*, 2587.

⁴ "Baus duz sire, vus avez tort." *Petit Plet*, 1146 (young noble to noble, an old man).—Dist li soucretains: "Biaus dous sire." *Rustebeuf*, II, 134 (priest to abbot).—Further examples occur in *Chev. au Cygne*, 5951;—*Eustache le Moine*, 842;—*Floriant et Florette*, 1720, 3346;—*Fabliaux*, I, 139; II, 71; III, 219; IV, 173;—*Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VI, 1118;—*Miracle de St. Theophile*, 336.

⁵ "Quels aventure, biaux douz sire." *Erec*, 4488 (noble to noble of equal rank).—Si li a dist: "Biaus tres dous sire." *Bel Desconu*, 2297 (noble girl to young noble).—Further examples occur in *Ille et Galeron*, 6085;—*Renart*, I, 542;—*Raoul de Cambrai*, 670, 7277;—*Chev. aux Deux Épées*, 776, 4345, 10052;—*Huon de Bordeaux*, 4660;—*Durmart le Gaulois*, 2715, 5031;—*Escoufle*, 2114, 2652;—*Floriant et Florette*, 1720;—*Bast. de Bouillon*, 3514;—*H. Capet*, 3433;—*Eustache le Moine*, 1619;—*Miracles de N. Dame*, A. I, 1521; A. VI, 807.

⁶ "He, biaux dous sire," fet li rois. *Floriant et Florette*, 2385 (king to

In texts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from the North and Center, *beaus douz sire* was employed by servants and friends as a title for bourgeois.¹

SECTION VI.

CHIERS SIRE.

In works of all periods and from all sections of France, *chiers sire* in the "normal" meaning,² 'he who has authority' or 'he who has authority over me,' was used by persons of all classes and ranks of society as a title for kings, and for feudal and ecclesiastical seigneurs;³ also by noble women as a title for their husbands.⁴

In works of the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from the West, North, and Center, *chiers sire* in the "transferred" meaning, '*monsieur*,' was used by nobles and priests as a title for their fellow nobles and priests who were the superiors, equals, and inferiors of the speaker.⁵ There are no examples of *chiers sire* used as a title for a bourgeois.

noble of high rank).—"Or vous pri, biaux dous sire, aiés le coer sené." *Bast. de Bouillon*, 849 (king to noble).—"Huez, biau tres douz sire, vous me faitez yrer." *H. Capet*, 1608 (queen to noble).

¹ "Biaux dous sire, guerredoner." *Flore et Blanchefleur*, 1656 (merchant to boatman).—"Ha Bricheemer, biaux tres douz sire." *Rustebouf*, II, 4 (bourgeois to his friend).—"Biaux douz sire, que volez vous?" *Fabliaus*, II, 119 (monk to merchant).—"Biaux dous sire, por Diu, quel non." *Escoufle*, 6268 (servant to bourgeois).

² *Chiers sire*, like *beaus sire*, at once lost its meaning, 'dear.'

³ E cil respondunt: "Chiers sire, si ferum." *Roland*, 2688 (nobles to king).—Further examples occur in *Roland*, 2441;—*Tristran de Beroul*, 555;—*Joinville*, p. 2;—*Rustebouf*, II, 135;—*Miracles de N. Dame*, A. II, 98; A. III, 624; A. IV, 171, 259.

⁴ "Chiers sire," dit la dame, "et je vous otri." *Brun de la Mont.*, 622 (wife to noble).—"Si ay je, chier sire." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. I, 48 (noble woman to husband).

⁵ "Chiers sire, qui sui reis clamez." *Thebes*, 9963 (king to one of his powerful vassals).—"Par certes, sire ciers, si estes!" *Ille et Galeron*, 2453 (noble to noble of high rank).—"Chiers sire, il m'a donné ce cheval." *Brun de la Mont.*, 350 (servant to noble, his master).—"Öil, cher sire."

SECTION VII.

BEAUS CHIERS SIRE.

In works of the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from all sections of France, *beaus chiers sire* in the "normal" meaning,¹ 'he who has authority' or 'he who has authority over me,' was used by persons of all classes and ranks of society as a title for kings:² in the "transferred" meaning, '*monsieur*,' it was employed as a title for nobles and priests who were the equals, superiors, and even inferiors of the speaker.³ There are no examples of the combination employed as a title for a bourgeois.

SECTION VIII.

GENTILS SIRE.

In texts of the twelfth, thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries, *gentils sire* in the "normal" meaning, 'he who has authority' or 'he who has authority over me,' was used

Miracles de N. Dame, A. VI, 282 (bourgeois to priest).—Further examples occur in *H. Capet*, 2914;—*Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VII, 721, 1105; B. XII, 152, 990.

¹ *Beaus chiers sire*, like *beaus sire*, at once lost its meanings, 'handsome' and 'dear.'

² "Beau sire chier, .11. mois a et plus non." *Prise d'Orange*, 523 (noble to king).—"Biax sire ciers, jel lo mout bien." *Ille et Galeron*, 3506 (Pope to emperor).—"Biax sire chiers, vostre plaisir feron." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 6776 (noble to king).

³ El li respont: "Bels sire chiers." *Marie de France*, *Guigemar*, 337 (queen to noble).—"Biax sire ciers," ce dist la belle. *Ille et Galeron*, 4127 (wife to noble).—"Merci," dist il, "beaus sire chiers." *Pape Gregoire*, 46 (peasant to abbot).—Further examples occur in *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, 2864;—*Ille et Galeron*, 719, 2181, 2446, 3946, 5740;—*Ogier*, 1581;—*Raoul de Cambrai*, 6708, 7648;—*Chev. aux Deux Épées*, 5920;—*Durmart le Gaulois*, 3642, 6445, 10482;—*Eacoufle*, 1044;—*Rustebeuf*, I, 158; II, 124;—*Fabliaus*, I, 155;—*Miracle de St. Theophile*, 309.

by nobles as a title for kings and feudal overlords, by noble women as a title for their husbands.¹

In works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from the North and Center, *gentils sire* in the "transferred" meaning, '*monsieur*,' was used² by nobles as a title for their friends, by kings and bourgeois as a title for nobles, and by servants and nobles as a title for bourgeois.

SECTION IX.

RICHERS SIRE.

*Riches sire*³ was used as a title for a king only. Examples of *riches sire* occur in thirteenth century texts from the North and Center.⁴ In addition to the compounds of *sire* thus far treated, the title was compounded with nearly all honorific Old-French adjectives. Because these adjectives were but sporadically joined to *sire* and never became fixed locutions, their treatment has been omitted from the present study.

¹ Et dit au roi: "Biaus gentix sire." *Renart*, I, 29 (noble to king).—Il li demande: "Gentix sire, c'avés?" *Huon de Bordeaux*, 3744 (noble to king).—"Gentix sire, quar secorés." *Durmart le Gaulois*, 8026 (noble to king).—"Sire rois," fait il, "gentix sire." *Escoufle*, 662 (noble to king).—Se li demandent: "Gentix sire, c'avés?" *Huon de Bordeaux*, 3376 (noble to overlord).—"Gentix quens sire, trop faites longe estee." *Aliscans*, 2513 (wife to noble).

² "He! gentix sire, fetes pes, si m'ôies." *Coronnement Louis*, 2283 (noble to noble).—"Pour ce," fait il, "biaus gentils sire." *Escoufle*, 7660 (noble to friend).—Et li dist: "Gentieulz sire, pour Dieu en qui on croit." *H. Capet*, 2911 (pilgrim to noble).—Lors li dist: "Gentix sire, par Dieu qui tout avoie." *H. Capet*, 1359 (bourgeois to noble).—"Sire Guillaume, gentix, nobles, et ber." *Aliscans*, 2513 (bourgeois to noble).—"Gentix sire, car vos hastés." *Durmart le Gaulois*, 8811 (king to noble of high rank).—"Ahi," fait il, "biaus gentix sire." *Escoufle*, 6388 (servant to bourgeois).—"He! gentix sires, et car me le rendés." *Huon de Bordeaux*, 4453 (noble to bourgeois).

³ See chapter on *riches hom*.

⁴ "He Karles, rices sire, que m'as or demandé?" *Fierebras*, 1795 (noble to emperor).—"Amirans, riches sire, de vous venger penser." *Fierebras*, 2586 (noble to pagan king).—"Amiral, riche sire, par Mahomet fie." *Maugis d'Aigremont*, 2353 (noble to pagan king).

SECTION X.

MES SIRE AND MON SEIGNEUR.

Like *ma dame*,¹ *mes sire*² was used as a title to distinguish the particular king, feudal or ecclesiastical seigneur, husband, lover, or father, under whose authority the speaker lived³ from the other men who, by virtue of authority over persons or property, were entitled to be designated as *sire*. Like *danz*,⁴ *mes sire* was never used alone as a title in direct address, but was always added as a sort of handle of honor to the names (not the titles) of those men who actually possessed an authority over the speaker.⁵

Because of the desire of the speaker to flatter the hearer by placing himself under the latter's fictitious authority, *mes sire* soon came to be employed as a title for nobles who did not actually possess any authority over the speaker. Unlike *danz*,⁶ however, *mes sire* was used, throughout the entire period treated by this study, as a handle of honor with the names of nobles of the highest rank only, and never became a title of honor for nobles of low rank. The great respect and honor conveyed by the term can be seen from the fact that Gauvain, the much-

¹ See *supra*, p. 123.

² Throughout the entire period treated by this study, *mes sire* was generally written as two words. There are numerous examples, however, where *mes* and *sire* were fused into one word. This tendency to combination was much stronger toward the end of the period.

³ Je sui vostre hom et vos mi sire. *Renart*, VI, 113 (noble addressing king).—Charlemagne, missire, l'oust racatet. *Pelerinage de Charlemagne*, 451.—Il est mesires, chevaux me done et dras. *Raoul de Cambrai*, 1381 (noble speaking of feudal overlord).—Missire a une maladie. *Fabliaux*, VI, 4 (woman speaking of husband).

⁴ See *supra*, p. 107.

⁵ Et messires Gauvain par non. *Tristan de Beroul*, 3418 (esquire speaking of Gauvain).—Avec li ert mesure Yvains. *Florian et Florette*, 1557 (noble speaking of feudal superior).

⁶ See *supra*, p. 110.

honored nephew of Arthur, was always mentioned or addressed as *mes sire*.¹

In texts of the twelfth, thirteenth, and first half of the fourteenth centuries from all sections of France, *mes sire* was added in both indirect² and direct³ address, as a handle of honor to the names of nobles and ecclesiastics of high rank. There are no examples, however, of the combination being used for kings, *mon seigneur* taking the place of *mes sire* as a term for a royal personage.

While *mes sire* still continued in use, the oblique form *mon seigneur* began, sometime in the thirteenth century,⁴ to be employed as the nominative. The examples of *mes sire* and *mon*

¹ "Voires est," fet mes sires Gauvains. *Erec*, 1103.—Que ce fuist mesires Gauvains. *Durmart le Gaulois*, 5849.—Mes sires Gauvains ert des trois. *Chev. aux Deux Épées*, 120.

In the earlier works of the Arthurian Cycle, Gauvain alone is spoken of as *mes sire*. But, just as the knightly adventures, which were all originally attributed to Gauvain alone, came to be attributed to Lancelot and other knights of the Round Table, so, *mes sire*, originally the title for Gauvain alone, came to be used as a title for the other knights of King Arthur's court. Avec li ert mesire Yvains. *Florian et Florette*, 1557.

² Mes sires Giefroiz de Surgennes. *Rustebœuf*, I, 78 (speaking of noble of high rank).—Quant mes sires saints Pox ot iço dit. *Prose Legends*, A. 3.—Messire Simons de Boskiaus, chevalier. *Chartres françaises de Vermandois*, B. E. C., Vol. LVII, p. 442.—Messires Rogiers, courés de Saint Pechinne. *Ibid.*, p. 465.

³ "Ahi!" fist il, "messire Brun." *Renart*, V, 643 (noble to noble, his friend).—"Mes sire Gauvains, sans respit." *Chev. aux Deux Épées*, 2956 (noble to noble, his friend).—"Mesire Kez," ce dist Tulaz. *Durmart le Gaulois*, 7673 (noble to noble, the seneschal).—"Messire Raoul, vous n'estes mie courtois." *Flore et Jehanne* (O. F. N.), 105 (noble girl to noble).—Et je li dis: "Mes sires Erars, il me semble." *Joinville*, p. 124 (noble to noble).—"Messire Raoul, qu'avez vous?" *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. III, 265 (clerk to priest of high rank).—Further examples occur in *Durmart le Gaulois*, 9295;—*Escoufle*, 294, 405;—*Meraugis de Portlesgues*, 1393;—*Flore et Jehanne* (O. F. N.), 114;—*Rustebœuf*, I, 71;—*Joinville*, p. 234;—*Miracles de N. Dame*, A. III, 432.

⁴ The earliest example of *mon seigneur* found in the works consulted for this study belongs to the second half of the thirteenth century.

Monseigneur Gerart Malesmains, chevaliers. *Chartres françaises du Vermandois*, B. E. C., Vol. LVII, p. 442.

seigneur contained in the works consulted for this study¹ seem to indicate that the difference between *mes sire* and *mon seigneur* was that, while *mes sire* soon lost its original meaning, 'he who has authority over me,' and became a mere handle added to the names of any noble of high rank whom it was desired to honor, *mon seigneur* retained this original "normal" meaning and was employed in the first half of the fourteenth century as a title for those men only who actually possessed authority over the speaker, for the king, feudal or ecclesiastical overlord, husband, lover, or father under whose power the speaker lived. Moreover, it seems to have been very frequently used as a title for bishops and for prelates who occupied a high rank in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Examples of *mon seigneur* used as a title in direct address are found in texts of the fourteenth century from all sections of the territory.²

¹ See p. 222, note 3.

² "Oil, mon seigneur, home et femme." *Fitz-Warren*, 76 (minstrel to king).—Monseigneur le roi de Navarre. *Joinville*, p. 11 (noble to king).—"Mon seigneur, ce sachiez de voir." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. IV, 849 (priest to king).—"Mon chier seigneur, je le vois querre." *Miracles de N. Dame*, B. XII, 782 (servant to noble).—"Mon seigneur, vous soiez deça." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VII, 808 (son to noble).—"A Dieu, a Dieu, mon seigneur doulz." *Miracles de N. Dame*, B. XII, 130 (wife to marquis).—"Mon seigneur, certes, ne doubtiez." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VII, 917 (woman to her noble lover).—"Mes seigneurs, ne vous tardez point!" *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VIII, 383 (servant to cardinals).—"Mon chier seigneur, vezci celui!" *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VIII, 987 (soldier guard to Pope).—"Mon chier seigneur, ne m'en merveil." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. III, 738 (clerk to bishop).—Further examples occur in *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. IV, 7, 286, 441, 519; A. VI, 383; A. VII, 172, 815; A. VIII, 231; B. XII, 541;—*Fitz-Warren*, 95.

CHAPTER XXVII.

SUER AND COMPOUNDS.

SECTION I.

SUER.¹

The meanings, 'sister,'² and 'nun,'³ of Old-French *suer* have been omitted from the present study of the word used as a title in direct address.

Although there are examples of *suer* used by the nobility in direct address, the word was preëminently a title of the lower classes of society. This popularity of *suer* was probably due to the fact that, while the upper classes of society may accept abstractions, the masses of men require concrete images; the idea that a relationship between two persons was of so close a nature as to resemble sisterhood was, consequently, one that would especially appeal to the popular mind. Therefore, since *suer* was much used by bourgeois women, it was but little employed by the ladies of the nobility.⁴

¹ Latin *soror* signified 'sister,' and 'female friend.' See *Plaut. Curc.* 4. 2. 57. and *Virg. A. I.*, 321.

² Demanda le: "Que vlieus tu, suer?" *Thebes*, 6473 (king to sister).—"Suer, qui est il? Només le moi." *Ille et Galeron*, 1455 (noble to sister).—Houdians dist: "Suer, ne savons." *Sone de Noisey*, 3249 (prince to sister).

³ Analogous to the monks, the nuns were supposed to be sisters in the common brotherhood of man, or in the hierarchy of the church of which the Pope was the father. See chapter on *frere*.

"Suer," ço dist li sains hom, "molt devons Deu amer." *Naiss. du Chev. au Cygne*, 1448 (hermit to nun).—"Comment, ma suer, pour saint Remy." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. II, 430 (nun to nun).

⁴ See *supra*, p. 28. *Suer* may have taken on some of the by-notions attached to *frere*, which was considered by the nobility of the times as an especially bourgeois title.

In texts of the thirteenth century from the North and Center, *suer* in the meaning, 'a woman whom friendship unites to me,' was employed only by bourgeois women as a title for their women friends.¹

As has been said in the chapter on *amis*,² a relation between a man and a woman of the Middle Ages of such a nature as intimate friendship could have existed only between lovers. Therefore, when used by a man as a title for a woman, *suer* could have been a title for a wife or a mistress only.³

As a love-term, *suer* was much used throughout the entire period treated by this study.⁴ The origin of the employment of the word as a love-title was probably due to the tendency on the part of lovers to create all sorts of fictitious relationships between themselves, and to the fact that *suer*, in its meaning, 'my friend,' was equivalent to *amie*⁵ and, by analogy, was employed as a love-term.

In works of the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries from all sections of France except the East, *suer* was used by nobles⁶ and by bourgeois⁷ as a title in direct address for their wives, sweethearts and mistresses.

¹ Et li dist: "Sor, ne vos poist mie." *Fabliaux*, V, 136 (bourgeois woman to woman friend).—"Suer, je n'ai cure de vielhart." *Fabliaux*, II, 208 (bourgeois woman to woman friend).

² See *supra*, p. 30.

³ The use as a term of endearment for young girls and as a title for real sisters and nuns excepted. See *supra*, p. 224.

⁴ While *amie* was chiefly used as a title for sweethearts and mistresses, *suer* was more frequently employed as a title for wives.

⁵ See *supra*, p. 54.

⁶ "Suer, douce amie." *Aucassin et Nicolette*, 7, 20 (noble to lady love).—Vers li me tres, si li dist: "Suer, dites moi." *Romanzen*, II, 17, 20 (noble lover to shepherdess).—"A Dieu, ma suer." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. IV, 1274 (king to wife).—"Ma suer, ne vous esmaiez mie." *Ibid.*, A. I, 273 (noble to wife).

⁷ "Suer," dist il, "gar je ai trové." *Renart*. XXI, 474 (*vilain* to wife).

—"Suer," fait il, "car me dites or." *Fabliaux*, V, 189 (bourgeois to wife).

—"Suer," fait il, "va a ces greniers." *Fabliaux*, IV, 152 (*vilain* to wife).

—"Suer," dist il, "se Diex me sequerre." *Fabliaux*, I, 240 (priest to

There has always been a tendency to use terms of sexual love as titles for babies, children and other young people whose inferior age gave the speaker a certain fatherly liberty.¹ In texts of the eleventh, thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries from the West, North, and Center, *suer* was consequently employed by noble and bourgeois men and women as a title for young girls or young women.²

SECTION II.

BELE SUER.

Bele ³ *suer* was a title that was used more frequently than was the parent word. It has been said ⁴ that *suer* was a popular title and that, because of its frequent employment by the lower classes of society, it was seldom used by the nobility. It was evidently felt, however, by the *courtois* society of the second half of the twelfth century that the addition of *bele* would remove the shadow of vulgarity that had fallen over *suer*. Consequently, in texts of the second half of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries from all sections of France, *bele suer* in the meaning, 'my fair friend' ⁵ was used by noble women as a title

mistress).—"Volentiers, suer, puis qu'il t'est bel." *Robin et Marion*, 405 (shepherd lover to shepherdess).—"Regardés, suer," fait il, "dont je vous faz present." *Berte*, 1217 (peasant to wife).—"Seur," dit il, "je te veuil aprendre." *Fabliaux*, I, 320 (*vilain* to wife).—"Tais toi, ma suer, ne te deshaite." *Fabliaux*, V, 202 (*vilain* to wife).—"Suer," dist il, "pour Dieu, vous taisiés." *Fabliaux*, IV, 50 (bourgeois to wife).—Dit Foucheres: "Suer Felise." *Pastorellen*, III, 31, 9 (shepherd to shepherdess).—"Suer, se ja Dieus ait part en m'ame." *Fabliaux*, III, 234 (butcher to mistress).

¹ See *amie*, *supra*, p. 53.

² "Soer, chier amie, d'hume mort me demandes." *Roland*, 3713 (Charlemagne to Aude, the young *fiancée* of Roland).—Ce dist li rois: "Suer, bele amie." *Bel Desconu*, 237 (king to young girl in waiting).—"A Dieu, ma suer." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. VI, 1315 (old noble lady to young girl).

³ See *supra*, p. 57.

⁴ See *supra*, p. 224.

⁵ *Bele suer* soon became identical with the original meaning of *suer*. That

for their women friends,¹ by noble men and women as a title for young girls,² and by noble men as a title for their wives, sweethearts and mistresses.³

Bele suer, however, seems to have been also adopted by the *bourgeoisie* and to have been extensively used by them in texts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries from all sections of France.⁴ The employment of the title by the *bourgeoisie* corresponds to its use by the nobility.⁵

The only use of *bele suer* that requires special comment is that in which the combination is employed as a title for a sis-

the addition of *bele* removed the vulgarity attached to *suer* is shown by the fact that, of the total number of the examples in the twelfth-century texts consulted for this study, sixty-eight per cent. of those of *bele suer* and but ten per cent. of those of *suer* are employed by the nobility.

¹ "Bele suer Gloris, douce amie." *Flore et Blanchefleur*, 2389 (noble girl to girl friend).

² "Biele suer, dyables est encore entour vous." *Merlin*, 10 (noble to young girl, his ward).

³ "Dame Guiborc, bele suer, douce amie." *Aliscans*, 1936 (count to wife).—"Ma bele suer, vostre merci." *Ille et Galeron*, 6528 (noble to sweetheart).—Puis li a dit: "Bele suer, douce amie." *Ogier*, 1694 (noble to sweetheart).—"A!" fait B., "bele suer, douce amie." *Raoul de Cambrai*, 6138 (noble to wife).—"Hâi! Berte," fait il, "bele suer, douce amie." *Berte*, 2181 (king to wife).—"Il ne vendra, bele suer, encor mie." *Pastorellen*, III, 12, 31 (noble to sweetheart).

⁴ "Biele suer, vous dites voir." *Merlin*, 16 (bourgeois woman to woman friend).—"Bele suer," dist la dame, "ne vos esmaies mie." *Naiss. du Chev. au Cygne*, 2386 (bourgeois woman to young girl).—"Bele suer, vos dites savoir." *Renart*, IX, 2082 (*vilain* to wife).—"Hâi," dist il, "ma bele suer." *Sept Sages*, 2268 (bourgeois to wife).—"Bele suer, me contes tu voir." *Fabliaux*, I, 199 (bourgeois to wife).—Et li borjois dist: "Bele suer." *Fabliaux*, V, 134 (bourgeois to wife).—"Biele suer, or penses de faire." *Merlin*, 28 (bourgeois to mistress).—"Bele suer," dist il, "escoutez." *Fabliaux*, III, 96 (bourgeois to mistress).—"Bele suer, ou est Berte, pour sainte charité." *Berte*, 3007 (*vilain* to wife).—"Bele suer, on doit avoir paine." *Conte de Folle Largesse*, 324 (*vilain* to wife).—"Je te commant," fait il, "suer bele." *Fabliaux*, III, 233 (priest to mistress).—"Bele suer, ne soies hastans." *Fabliaux*, IV, 50 (bourgeois to wife).

⁵ In the twelfth century, *bele suer* seems to have been a distinctly *courtois* title, chiefly used by the nobility among whom it originated. By the second half of the thirteenth century, however, it seems to have been as frequently used by the *bourgeoisie* as it was by the nobility.

ter-in-law. It has been said ¹ that relatives by marriage were often addressed by the same titles as blood relations. In a large household, including several brothers and brothers-in-law and sisters and sisters-in-law, there must have existed much confusion in nomenclature. Consequently, it possibly came to be the custom to address real brothers and sisters as *frere* and *suer*, and to address brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law as *beaus frere* and *bele suer*. By the fifteenth century, the date of the earliest example ² cited previously to this monograph, this custom had been so widely observed that *beaus frere* and *bele suer* had become fixed designations for brothers and sisters by marriage. It is the opinion of the author of this study, however, that they had become such designations long before this period. One reason ³ for such a conclusion is that in the only example in the works consulted for this study in which a person is addressing his sister-in-law, *bele suer* is the title used.⁴ However, whether or not *bele suer* had become fixed as a designation for a sister-in-law, the example in question is important as being the earliest example of *bele suer* yet cited in which the word was employed as a title for a sister-in-law and as containing the germ from which the subsequent shift in meaning was to develop.

SECTION III.

DOUCE SUER.

Like *bele suer*, *douce suer* was used by noble and bourgeois

¹ See chapter on *beaus frere*.

² See *Dictionnaire Général*, under *belle sœur*.

³ For other reasons for such a conclusion, see chapter on *beaus frere*.

⁴ On page 227 of Volume II, of the *Fabliaux*, there is the following passage:

"Entendez ça, soer bele, De cest homme ai grant pité." In this passage, a noble lady is addressing her lady in waiting. These personages are described as follows: La dame fu corteise et bele, Si avoit une damoisele Que fu la soer de son seigneur,

women as a title for their women friends,¹ by noble and bourgeois men and women as a title for young girls,² and by noble and bourgeois men as a title for their wives, sweethearts and mistresses.³ These examples come from all sections of France except the West, contained in works of the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

SECTION IV.

MISCELLANEOUS COMPOUNDS OF *SUER*.

The following compounds of *suer* occur not more than twice in the works consulted for this study.

Bele Douce Suer.

Li a dit: "Bele douce suer." *Erec*, 5836 (noble to wife).—Fet Jehans: "Bele douce suer." *Fabliaux*, I, 200 (bourgeois to wife).

Bele Suer Debonaire.

"Avoi! bele suer debonere." *Fabliaux*, III, 97 (bourgeois to mistress).

Chiere Suer.

"Chere suer," dit il, "Deus vos saut." *Fabliaux*, III, 120 (noble to bourgeois woman, a stranger).

Douce Chiere Suer.

"Entendes moi, suer doce ciere." *Ille et Galeron*, 1430 (noble to sister).

¹ "Trachere amie, suer douci, jo te preio." *Prose Legends*, F. 33, 3 (noble lady to her woman friend).—"Mout m'anuie, ma douce suer." *Romansen*, 36, 37 (noble lady to woman friend).

² "Douce suer, je vos ai pres de VII ans gardé." *Naiss. du Chev. au Cygne*, 2394 (hermit to adopted daughter).—En plorant dist: "ma douce suer." *Gautier de Coincy*, 433 (old bourgeois woman to young girl).

³ "Si, m'ait Dix, ma douce suer." *Ille et Galeron*, 4699 (noble to sweetheart).—"Suer doucete, per saint Germain." *Pastorellen*, II, 16, 41 (noble to shepherdess).—Je li die: "Ma douce suer, se dex me saut." *Romansen*, 64, 22 (noble to mistress).—L'estraint et dit: "Ma douce suer." *Erec*, 4918 (noble to wife).—"Ai," fait il, "ma douce suer." *Ille et Galeron*, 1182 (noble to wife).—"Bele compaignie, doce suer." *Renart*, IX, 1518 (noble to wife).—"Douce suer," dist li rois, "je vos ai embracié." *Naiss. du Chev. au Cygne*, 494 (king to wife).—"Ma douce suer, amie chiere." *Fabliaux*, I, 227 (villain to wife).—"Si vous requier, ma douce suer." *Miracles de N. Dame*, A. I, 614 (noble to wife).

CHAPTER XXVIII.

TOUSEL AND TOUSE.

In works of the thirteenth century from the North and Center, *tousel* and *touse*, signifying, 'youth,' and 'young girl,' respectively, were used by nobles and priests as a title for youths and girls.¹ With one exception, the examples of these titles all occur in the *Pastorellen*, being employed as a title for shepherds and shepherdesses. •

¹ "Vous, jouvenceles et vous touses." *Gautier de Coincy*, 726 (priest to nuns).—Si a dit: "Seignor tousel." *Pastorellen*, II, 22, 48 (noble to shepherds).—"Touse, je vos requier." *Pastorellen*, III, 39, 29 (noble to shepherdess).

CHAPTER XXIX.

VASSALS.

A. *Vassals* used as a Title for the Nobility.

1. *Vassals* USED BY SEIGNEURS AS A REPRIMAND FOR THEIR FOLLOWERS.

In Old French, *vassals* in its "normal" meaning signified 'follower.'¹ It has been said² that a seigneur never addressed his followers or inferiors toward whom he was favorably disposed by titles that would recall their dependence, but aimed at concealing his superiority under a veil of fictitious equality by addressing them by such titles of comradeship as *amis*. At times, however, a seigneur being angry with his followers and desiring to reprimand them and to make them realize that they were, in fact, but his dependents, addressed them as *vassals*. In this use as a title in direct address, *vassals* signified 'my inferior.' In texts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from all sections of the territory, *vassals* was employed by seigneurs as a reprimand for their followers.³

¹ *Vassals* is derived from Folk-Latin *vassallus*, signifying 'follower,' which, in turn, was derived from the celtic *gwassawl*, signifying 'serving.' See Alfred Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*, Leipzig, 1907, under *vas-salus*. Since the followers of seigneurs were their warriors, *vassals* came to signify 'warrior.' Examples of this meaning are the following: Ypomedon el destre a val En l'ost n'aveit meillor vassal. *Thebes*, 6939;—"Deus! quel vassal! soz ciel n'a tel." *Erec*, 1255.

This meaning, 'warrior,' is best brought out in the adjective *vassal* and the adverb *vassallement*. See Godefroy under these words. Because of pejorative shading of the meaning, 'follower,' *vassals* in the "transferred" meaning, 'warrior,' was never used as a title in direct address.

² See *supra*, p. 20.

³ "Vassal, vus m'avez mult mesfet." Marie de France, *Lanval*, 365 (king accuses Lanval of disrespect toward the queen).—"Vassaus," dist il, "venés avant!" *Sept Sages*, 766 (king to wise man with whom he is

2. *Vassals* USED BY SEIGNEURS AS AN INSULT FOR HOSTILE MESSENGERS.

It was the custom in the Middle Ages that the messengers of hostile kings, or seigneurs, should insult in the most vigorous terms the person to whom the defiance was brought. This proceeding usually put the individual defied in a towering rage, and led him to give vent to every opprobrious epithet that could adequately express his opinion of the messenger and of the seigneur who sent him. The most cutting and overwhelming of these deprecatory terms seem to have been those by which the speaker showed that he considered himself of a rank and social position infinitely above that of the hearer upon whom he looked with the condescension of a superior in his relation to an inferior. *Vassals* in the meaning, 'my inferior,' was one of the favorite words used to express this feeling of superiority and was used by nobles as an insult for hostile messengers in works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from the West and East of France.¹

angry).—"Vassaus, trop hardis esties." *Sept Sages*, 2768 (king to doctor with whom he is angry).—"Vassal," fait il, "sanz jugement." *Renart*, XXII, 528 (king to noble with whom he is angry).—"Vassal," dist Floripas, "trop vous poés vanter." *Fierebras*, 2119 (princess to noble, a captive).—Il li demande: "Vassal, ou en alés?" *Aliscans*, 3540 (noble to inferior with whom he is angry).—"Ki estes vos? Vassal, nel celés mie!" *Aliscans*, 2091 (*châtelaine* to spy).—"Vassal," dist il, "trop par fustes osés!" *Raoul de Cambrai*, 7969 (king to noble with whom he is angry).—"Vasal," dist Karles, "ne l'arés mie ensi." *Huon de Bordeaux*, 2156 (emperor to noble with whom he is angry).—"Vasal," dist Karles, "or garde que tu dis!" *Huon de Bordeaux*, 2007 (emperor to noble with whom he is angry).

¹"Vassaus, ne vos tieng mie a sage." *Troie*, 6329 (Priam to messenger of the Greek king).—"Vassal," fait il, "alez vos en!" *Thebes*, 10041 (king to messenger bearing insulting messages).—"Sire vassax, ja ne m'i quier celer!" *Aimeri de Narbonne*, 4040 (king to messenger bearing insulting messages).

3. *Vassals* USED BY NOBLES AS AN INSULT FOR THEIR EQUALS.

Vassals in the meaning, 'my inferior,' could never have been used by a noble as a title of respect for a fellow noble of equal rank. It was, however, frequently employed as an insult, especially in those many scenes in Old-French literature in which a knight-errant meets an enemy and defies him to combat. In the battle of words that preceded such contests, the object of each warrior seems to have been self-glorification at the expense of his adversary. Each vilifies the other and expresses supreme contempt for the prowess of his antagonist. To express this contempt, the word *vassals* was so appropriate a term that it became the fixed epithet to be employed in challenging an enemy.

In texts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from all sections of France, *vassals* was used by nobles as an epithet by which to challenge an opponent.¹ There are no examples of this use in the fourteenth-century works consulted for this study.

¹"Qui" fet il, "vassaus, qui es tu?" *Erec*, 840 (noble to noble for whom he has contempt).—Puis a dit a duc Namle: "Vassal, car entendez!" *Fierebras*, 2518 (Saracen to Christian noble for whom he has contempt).—"Vassal," dist il, "tu ne dis mie asés." *Huon de Bordeaux*, 3341 (noble to noble when angry).—"Certes, vassalz, dont est ce tors?" *Durmart le Gaulois*, 1634 (noble to noble with whom he is angry).—"Vassaus," fait il, "nel dites mais!" *Thebes*, 2786 (noble to noble whom he is challenging).—"Vassal," dist il, "trop es desmesurés!" *Ogier*, 1544 (noble to noble whom he is challenging).—Puis li a dit: "Vassal, je vos deafi!" *Racul de Cambrai*, 2317 (noble to noble whom he is challenging).—"Vassaus," fet il, "grant vilenie avez fet qui avez m'amie." *Chevalier a l'Épée*, 923 (noble to noble whom he is defying to combat).—"Coment, vassaus, as tu donc teus?" *Meraugis de Portlesgues*, 5729 (noble to noble whom he is defying).—Further examples occur in *Erec*, 4027, 4417;—*Chev. au Cygne*, 2650;—*Durmart le Gaulois*, 2232;—*Amis et Amiles*, 1931;—*Fabliaus*, III, 258;—*Rose*, 15764;—*Troie*, 2589;—*Guillaume d'Angleterre*, 2779;—*Fierebras*, 4130;—*Aliscans*, 6355;—*Elie de St. Gille*, 298;—*Bel Desconu*, 1390;—*Aimeri de Narbonne*, 1691;—*Huon de Bordeaux*, 848;—*Escoufle*, 1118;—*Floriant et Florette*, 1790.

4. *Vassals* USED AS A TERM OF SEXUAL LOVE.

Vassals was employed by the young women of the Middle Ages as a love-term for their sweethearts. As a love-term, it probably signified 'my follower,' 'my vassal,' with the idea of 'he over whom love gives me authority.'

In texts of the second half of the twelfth century from the West, North and Center, *vassals* in the meaning, 'he over whom love gives me authority,' was employed by noble ladies as a term of sexual love for their sweethearts.¹ There are no examples in texts of a date later than the second half of the twelfth century.

B. *Vassals* used as a Title for the Lower Classes of Society.

Vassals in the meaning, 'my inferior' was a most suitable title for nobles to employ for bourgeois. Nevertheless, there seems to have existed on the part of the nobility the same hesitation in addressing members of the lower classes of society by terms that would call up their dependency or inferiority as existed in their avoidance of similar terms as titles for their fellow nobles of minor rank.² Consequently, *vassals* was only used by nobles as a title for those bourgeois or peasants whom they expressly desired to reprimand or insult. Examples of this use occur in texts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries for all sections of the territory except the West.³ It was also

¹ "Vassaus," fait ele, "qui vos conduit?" *Trois*, 1590 (noble woman to lover).—"Vassaus," dist Floripas, "trop folement parlés." *Fierebras*, 3174 (noble girl to lover).—"Vasal," dist la pucele, "alés a vostre Dé!" *Elie de St. Gille*, 2135 (noble girl to lover).—"Vassal, et jel ferai." *Pastorellen*, III, 39, 38 (shepherdess to noble lover).

² See *supra*, p. 231.

³ "Sire vassaus, se Deus me saut." *Fabliaus*, III, 171 (noble to presumptuous innkeeper).—"Vassal, je sui Sains Nicolans." *Jus de St. Nicolas*, 1293 (saint to robber).—"Vassal," fist il, "par quel conmant?"

employed by bourgeois as a reprimand or an insult for their inferiors and equals.¹

Fabliaux, VI, 107 (count to cook with whom he is angry).—"Vassal," fet il, "qui estes vous?" *Floriant et Florette*, 4479 (chamberlain to king's dwarf with whom he is angry).

¹"Vassus, trop estes de grant cuer." *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, 734 (merchant to beggar who has proudly refused alms).—Puis li escrie: "Vasal, di, qui es tu?" *Raoul de Cambrai*, 1960 (watchman to soldier of enemy).—Dist Wistasse: "Sire vassal." *Eustache le Moine*, 1602 (monk to soldier whom he is insulting).—"Sire vassal, traiez en sus." *Fabliaux*, I, 236 (smith to apprentice with whom he is angry).

CHAPTER XXX.

VASLEZ.

In Old French, *vaslez*¹ in its "normal" meaning signified 'a boy under fifteen years of age,' as contrasted with *bachelers*, *damoiseaus*, and *escuiers*,² the designations for youths of from fifteen to twenty-one years.³

In texts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from all sections of the territory, *vaslez* in its "normal" meaning was used by kings and nobles as a title for noble boys.⁴ There are no

¹ *Vaslez* is a diminutive formed on the late Latin *vassus*. It probably signified 'the son of a *vassal*,' just as *dominicellus*, the diminutive of *dominus*, signified 'the son of a *dominus*.' Like *damoiseaus*, *vaslez* early lost this meaning and came to signify simply 'a youth,' 'a boy.' See chapter on *damoiseaus*.

² See chapters on *bachelers*, *escuiers*, and *damoiseaus*.

³ This distinction, however, was not a hard and fast one and there are examples in which *vaslez* designated a youth over fifteen years of age:

Il n'estoit mie chevaliers, Vallez estoit: VII ans entiers avoit .l. chastelain servi. *Fabliaux*, II, 92.—Respondi Saul (à David): "Ne te poz a lui cupler, kar tu es vadlez et il (Goliath) est un merveillus ber." *Rois*, 65 (G.)

In the majority of cases, however, *vasles* designated 'a boy under fifteen years of age,' as contrasted with *bachelers*, *escuiers*, and *damoiseaus*, the terms for youths between the ages of fifteen and twenty-one.

Dous enfans de sa femme aveit, L'uns ert vaslet, l'autre danzelle. Benoît de St. Maure, *Duc de Normandie*, II, 17776 (ed. Michel).—Et li vaslet et li franc esquier. *Raoul de Cambrai*, 1934.—Mult pëussiez veoir uns e altres trembler, Chamberlains et serjanz haster, E vadlez metre seles et chevaliers armer. *Ibid.*, 2000.—Ainçois que il fust chevaliers, Qu'il fu vallez et escuiers. Gautier de Tournai, *Gilles de Chin*, 28 (ed. Reiffenberg).—N'iert mie chevaliers, encor ert valleton, N'aveit encor el vis ne barbe ne grenun. Wace, *Rou*, II, 3076.

⁴ Et dist li cuens: "Tu dis voir, valleton." *Prise d'Orange*, 52 (count to young nephew).—"Sire valet, alez menger." *Tristan de Beroul*, 3509 (king to young noble).—"Vaslet," fet il, "va tost." *Erec*, 2565 (noble to noble boy).—Fierament li escrie: "Biaus amis valetton." *Elie de St. Gille*, 1392 (princess to noble boy).—"Vaslet," fet oïl, "por un bon mestre." *Petit Plet*, 121 (old man to boy).—"Vallet," fait il, "par ta bonté." *Dur-*

examples in texts of a date later than the first half of the thirteenth century.

During the Middle Ages, the sons of nobles were apprenticed, at about the age of eleven years, to some seigneur in whose following they acquired their education in arms.¹ During the latter part of their apprenticeship and for the few years previously to their becoming *chevaliers*, the duties of these youths consisted in carrying their master's shield and spears and in caring for his horses. Because of the first of these functions, these youths in the latter stage of their apprenticeship were called *escuiers*.² During the early years of their apprenticeship, however, these youths acted as pages or body-servants of their masters and performed the menial duties of the *maisniee*. Therefore, *vaslez*, the term for youths in the early stage of their apprenticeship,³ shifted from meaning 'boy' to meaning 'servant.'⁴ This shift in meaning probably began in the second half of the twelfth or first half of the thirteenth centuries and was nearly completed by the first half of the fourteenth century.

In texts of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries from the North and Center, *vaslez* in the meaning, 'servant,' was employed by nobles and bourgeois as a title for their servants.⁵

mart le Gaulois, 9132 (noble to noble youth).—"Vaslet," fet ele, "vien a mont." *Fabliaux*, V, 153 (noble girl to noble youth).—"Vallés, dis tu voir, ou tu mens?" *Fabliaux*, V, 178 (châtelain to young boy).—"Vallés," dist il, "n'i pues avoir." *Chev. aus Deux Épées*, 3500 (noble to noble youth).—"Vallés, vo tamps n'est pas usés." *Sone de Noisey*, 819 (noble girl to noble youth).

¹ See Guilhiermoz, *op. cit.*, p. 422.

² See chapter on *escuiers*.

³ *Vaslez* in the "normal" meaning signified 'a boy under fifteen years of age.'

⁴ See examples cited by Godefroy.

⁵ A lui, et li dist: "Car me di, Vallet, se il a près de ci." *Chev. aus Deux Épées*, 8570 (noble to servant).—"Varlet," fait il, "quel part ala." *Eustache le Moine*, 593 (seigneur to one of his herders).—"Qu'as tu," fet il, "qu'as tu, varlet?" *Fabliaux*, IV, 176 (bourgeois to herder).

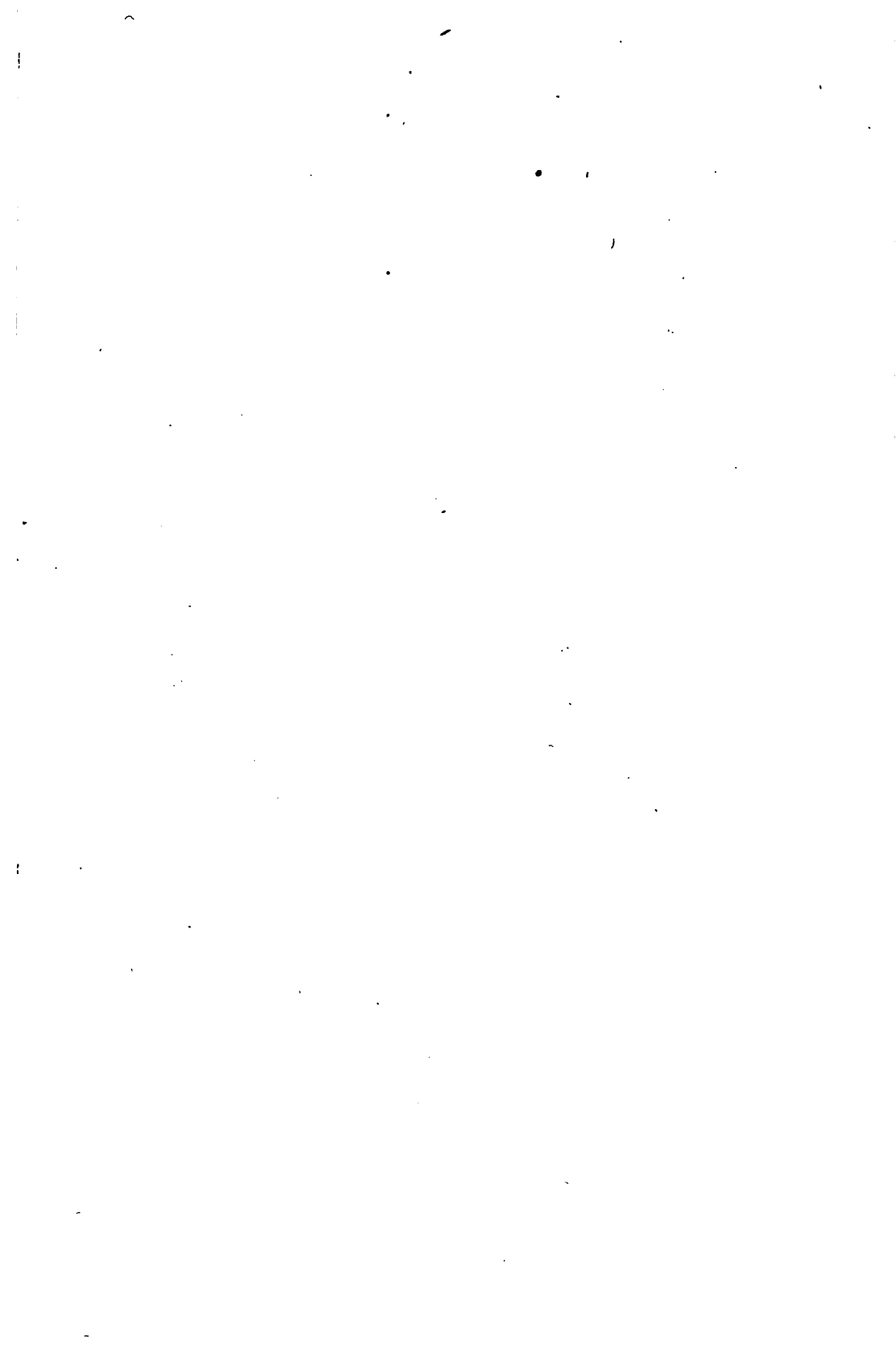


VITA.

Born at Appleton, Wisconsin, on March 29th, 1882, I was prepared for college at the Belmont School, Belmont, California, and in Paris, France, and was graduated with the degree of A. B. from Princeton University in 1904. For one year, 1906-7, I followed the courses in Romance philology and literature at the Collège de France, the École des Hautes Études and the Sorbonne at Paris. During the years 1904-6 and 1907-8, I have been a graduate student in Romance Languages at the Johns Hopkins University, holding successively a University Scholarship and Fellowship.

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WILLIAM AVERILL STOWELL.



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